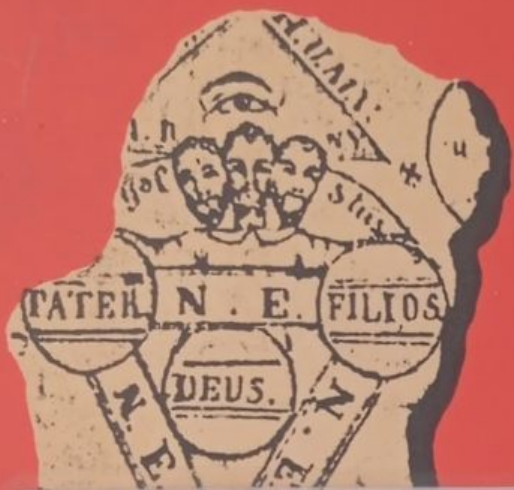


BABAYLANISM IN NEGROS: 1896-1907



Mindanao State University-GSC
Main Library



MSU ML000013188

EVELYN TAN CULLAMAR

FIL
959.95
C897



87-67, *and*
MCU-GSC LIBRARY

5-14-2012 ojl
MSU-GSC LIBRARY

I-05

FILIPINIANA

CF
FILIPINIANA

BABAYLANISM IN NEGROS:

1896-1907

History, recorded history, that is—has not been kind to the peasantry, and for obvious reasons. Peasants may affect history, but as a rule they do not make it; if anything, it is made for—with or against—them. More important still for purposes of the historian's craft, not only do peasants hardly ever record their fates, their betters have rarely bothered to do it for them; if they have remembered to mention the peasantry at all, they have as often as not relegated it to the role of supporting cast for their own pageantry.

Harry J. Benda

64

BABAYLANISM IN NEGROS:

1896-1907

EVELYN TAN CULLAMAR

A . . P 50.00

NOV 14 1997

#87-67

New Day Publishers
Quezon City, Philippines

LIBRARY

MINDANAO STATE UNIVERSITY
GENERAL SANTOS CITY

#87-67

959.95

897

1. Nagron Island - History, 1896
2. Babaylanes

Copyright, 1986, by EVELYN TAN CULLAMAR
and NEW DAY PUBLISHERS
11 Lands St., Project 6, Quezon City
P. O. Box 167, Quezon City 3008
Tel. No. 99-80-46

All rights reserved.

Cover Design: ACHILLES MINA
Featured on the cover is an *anting-anting* or amulet
based on an *anting-anting* in *Campaña de Filipinas*
(Madrid, 1898), in the Lopez Memorial Museum.

ISBN 971-10-0293-0 (bp)
ISBN 971-10-0294-9 (np)

LIBRARY
MINDANAO STATE UNIVERSITY
GENERAL LANTOS CITY

NOV 14 1986

CONTENTS

<i>Foreword</i> by Leslie E. Bauzon	vii
<i>Preface</i>	xi
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xiv
I. Introduction	1
II. The Setting	4
Negros Island,	4
Negros by the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,	7
III. Babaylanism: Its Origins	17
Babaylan as a Religious Functionary in Pre-Spanish Philippines,	17
Origins of the Movement,	19
Rituals and Ceremonies,	21
Anting-anting and Oraciones,	22
Babaylanism as a Religious Movement,	23
Papa Isio,	24
IV. The Babaylan Movement During the Last Years of Spanish Rule	29
Guardia Civil Campaigns	
Against Malhechores in Negros,	29
The Revolution against Spain in Negros,	32
V. Babaylanism: Early American Period	40
Negros Collaboration,	40
The Philippine-American War,	44

The Babaylanes in the Resistance Movement
Against the Americans, 49

VI. Babaylanism as Revitalization Movement	71
VII. Assessment	74
<i>Appendices</i>	79
<i>Bibliography</i>	97
<i>Index</i>	111

ILLUSTRATIONS

Map of Negros	5-6
Sketch of Babaylan attack at Hacienda Haguimit	60
Sketch of Babaylan attack at La Castellana	61
Sketch of portion of southern Negros Occidental affected most by Babaylan raids	62
Capt. John R. White with Celedonio the Babaylan boy	64

FOREWORD

This book is a major contribution toward the enhancement of our knowledge and understanding of Babaylanism as a manifestation of social unrest in Negros Island during the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. It focuses on the causes which led to the rise of Babaylanism as well as on its nature as a social movement in terms of its objectives, composition, leadership, and ideology.

Evelyn Tan Cullamar provides ample evidence to show that the Babaylanes were not necessarily outlaws and *ladrones* (thieves or robbers), as the colonizers from both Spain and the United States always called them. Nor were they anarchistic, as the Filipino *ilustrado* elite consistently chorused. Rather, they resisted Spanish and American colonial authorities because they desired to be free to be themselves, unrestricted by what vassalage entails, and enjoying whatever culture they inherited from their ancestors.

Babaylanism was the most important form of peasant protest against the existing social, economic and political conditions in the Island of Negros for nearly a generation, beginning roughly in 1890 and ending in 1907. The outbreak of the Babaylan revolt was in keeping with the tradition of Filipino peasant radicalism in Philippine history.

In his book entitled *Evolution and Revolution: The Rising Waves of Emancipation* (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1974), Willem F. Wertheim suggests that in defining revolution, "the basic criterion is that a revolution always aims at an overthrow of the existing social order and of the prevalent power structure; whereas all other types of disorder, however they may be called, lack this aspiration to fundamental change and simply aim to deal a blow at those in authority, or even to depose or physically eliminate them."

He goes on to discuss the two principal types of revolution, namely social and national. A social revolution is a movement directed by one social class against another class. The layer of society engaged in an uprising acts on the principle of class cooperation and solidarity, allowing that layer of society to operate as a political class, in order to propel it to ascendancy until completely wresting control away from the existing ruling class or the layer of society holding sway over the incumbent power structure. Historically, the bourgeois revolution against an aristocratic ruling class is of this type. The proletarian revolution waged by industrial workers against a ruling bourgeoisie is also of this type. To cite another example, a peasant revolution carried out against the dominant landed gentry is likewise called a social revolution.

The latter type of revolution, that is, the national revolution, is on the other hand an anti-colonial struggle for national political emancipation from foreign rule or tutelage. As such, from the very beginning, it is a war for nationhood, based on the idea of the autonomy and self-determination of peoples. From the perspective of the ruling foreign power, this disorder may simply be treated as an internal war and disturbance, or as an ordinary rebellion against the duly constituted authorities, but from the perspective of those in the movement, the aspiration is at once emancipatory in character, that is to say, for national political liberation. Historically, the classical revolution of this type have been under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, even if there is an observable substantial participation by the laboring population from the agrarian and urban sectors of society.

In the context of the above remarks, we can certainly discern revolutionary elements in the case of Babaylanism. For one thing, the Babaylanes were anti-*hacendero* class. The hacenderos were *ilustrados* or educated by virtue of their wealth. Thus they formed part of the elite of the Negrense society. On the other hand, the Babaylanes belonged to the lowest order of society. As Cullamar demonstrates, they were mostly superstitious, ignorant and gullible *jornaleros* or laborers. Nevertheless, their basic and inner instincts told them that there was something unjust with the set-up they were in. The fact that they arrayed themselves against the hacenderos and *ilustrados* clearly means that their movement has class overtones. These overtones

are also evident in their desire to divide up the landed estates of the hacenderos for redistribution to the landless peasants, and to protect the laborers from hacendero abuses.

For another, the Babaylanes were anti-colonial in their outlook. This is seen in their struggle against both the Spaniards and the Americans. For sure, the Babaylanes took on a political coloration when they joined the revolution against Spanish rule, and later, when they repudiated the collaboration of the hacendero-ilustrado class with the Americans who succeeded the Spaniards. Hence they continued their struggle until they were beaten by the superior military might of the United States forces. By fighting against both Spain and America in order to obtain Philippine political freedom, they displayed nationalistic virtues.

Thus, the Babaylanes exhibited at one time or another the characteristics of both a social revolution and a national revolution. In the case of the former, they were certainly against the prevalent social order and favored a reordering of Negrense society toward class equality or the equalization of classes, if not the outright elimination of the elite class. That they could attack towns with impunity meant that the danger they presented to Spanish authority in Negros was substantial, although this was not the case when the Americans came. At the same time, Babaylanism opposed colonial rule by a foreign power, and in this respect, their struggle was emancipatory in nature.

While Babaylanism did not succeed, its abortive nature nonetheless should not obscure the fact that it did not only have the explicit objective of restructuring Negrense society, but that it aimed too at the liberation of the Negrenses from foreign tutelage. In consonance with this anti-colonialism was its repudiation of the elite class for being too closely allied with the foreigners, thus losing their efficacy to render a credible leadership among the members of the Negros peasantry. The Babaylanes may therefore be regarded as revolutionaries, and the revolutionary elements they demonstrated override whatever mysticism, primitivism, and savagery they displayed in the process of their existence, and regardless of what the colonizers and their local cohorts may have thought of them. Their formation into a cohesive force was certainly a concrete instance that the peasantry of Negros have come into their own.

The tragedy was that the colonial authorities, together with

the Filipino sugar elite, refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the grievances of the Babaylanes. This tragic failure to understand the root causes of Babaylanism has in large measure contributed to the social and political instability that beset, and continues to beset, Negros Island in the twentieth century. The inability to grasp the simple significance of Babaylanism as a grassroots movement has resulted in fundamental social, economic, and political imbalances in Negrense society. So long as these imbalances exist, movements and unrests similar to those exhibited by Babaylanism will keep making Negros a social volcano that it is.

We are all indebted to Cullamar for undertaking this detailed study on a hitherto neglected subject. Her work represents a big step toward the enrichment of our understanding of Filipino civilization at the grassroots level. This book is a perfect example of how academically profitable it is to study Philippine history from the bottom up rather than from the top down. It shows the rich detail of local history because the human drama that is attached to dates and events is placed in bold relief, thus making us more appreciative of the life of our people and the future that is taking shape.

LESLIE E. BAUZON

Professor of History and Dean
College of Social Sciences
and Philosophy
University of the Philippines

Diliman, Quezon City
12 September 1985

PREFACE

Studies about religio-political expressions and supernaturalistic movements that have periodically erupted in the Philippines have been very few. Oftentimes, we know so much about the elite in society but not about the common *tao*. In contrast to the Great Tradition, the Little Tradition has been sadly neglected. Within the last couple of years, pioneering works have been published by such scholars as Sturtevant who made a preliminary inquiry into the *Guardia de Honor* movement in Pangasinan; Hart in his study of *Dios Buhawi* in Negros Oriental; and Arens in his investigation of the *Pulahan* movement in Samar and Leyte. Dionisio Papa of the *Babaylanes* of Negros is considered a legitimate revolutionary leader in Veneracion's thesis, "The Philippine-American War: Visayan Phase, 1899-1902." More recently, longer accounts about the Babaylanes appear in Romero's book, *Negros Occidental Between Two Foreign Powers, 1888-1909*; Constantino's work, *The Philippines: A Past Revisited*; and McCoy's study, "Baylan: Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology." However, to my knowledge, no comprehensive study dealing solely with the Babaylanes has been undertaken. They are rarely referred to in Philippine history texts. It was to fill this gap that the research into the movement was originally made for a masteral thesis. This work does not purport to be a definitive and exhaustive study of the Babaylanes but it is hoped that it will pave the way for more researches on relatively unexplored movements.

Babaylanism is a little-known religio-political protest movement of the peasantry in Negros Island during the late Spanish and early American periods under the leadership of the charismatic "Pope" Isio. The year 1896 saw the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution against Spain. By then, Isio was already the acknowledged leader of the group. The Babaylanes became a

thorn on the side of the Spaniards and later the Americans until Isio was induced to surrender in 1907.

This study tries to trace the evolution and development of Babaylanism from a religious to a more political and revolutionary movement. It assesses the role it played in the resistance movement against the Spaniards and the Americans as well as its place in Philippine history. To get a better perspective of this phenomenon, a brief description of Negros and its political, economic and social conditions in the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is presented. The origins of the movement and its ceremonies and rituals are delved into. The role of Isio and his followers in the struggle against the Spaniards is analyzed and so with the factors that provided them impetus. During the early American era, the Babaylanes are shown as revolutionaries identified with the Malolos Government of Aguinaldo as well as the Federal Council of Iloilo. They are inflamed with their nascent nationalism, anti-foreignism and anti-Protestantism. Soon they were harassed by the campaigns of the Philippine Scouts and the Philippine Constabulary until the surrender of the durable Papa Isio seemed inevitable.

This book was made possible through the support, cooperation and encouragement of several people and entities. I would like to express my gratitude especially to my mentors, Fr. John N. Schumacher, S.J. and the late Dr. Luz U. Ausejo. Under their tutelage I learned the rudiments of historiography. I am indebted to Dr. Leslie E. Bauzon for awakening my interest in the Babaylanes of Negros. Dr. Edilberto de Jesus, Helen R. Tubangui and Lourdes Rausa-Gomez were in my thesis committee and rendered valuable criticisms and suggestions. However, whatever shortcomings this book may have are my sole responsibility.

I would like to acknowledge my debt to William Yee who willingly accompanied my husband and me in the course of interviews in Kabancalan and Ilog; the Labandera family and the Fellowship Baptist Academy of Kabancalan and the many informants from both provinces of Negros. The personnel of the American Historical Collection in the American Embassy, National Library, National Archives, Rizal Library of Ateneo de Manila University, University of Santo Tomas Library and the Main Library of the University of the Philippines were very accommodating and helpful and to them go my sincere thanks.

Silliman University through the Asia Foundation made it possible for me to pursue graduate studies and come up with this study. The Philippine Social Science Council through its Discretionary Research Awards Program enabled me to complete the research.

The publication of this work is due in large measure to the interest and support of the late Dr. Luz U. Ausejo and the late Fern Babcock Grant, editors of the Humanities Publication Series of Silliman University. I also wish to thank Gloria F. Rodriguez and Vilma May A. Fuentes, director and editor respectively of New Day Publishers, who were very helpful in the transformation of the manuscript into a book.

Finally, I am most grateful to my family whose unstinting support inspired me to finish the task I set out to do.

Evelyn Tan Cullamar

Quezon City
17 June 1985

Abbreviations

- AHC — American Historical Collection
- NA — National Archives
- NC — Noble Collection—A Compilation of Insurgent
Documents Pertaining to the Visayas
- NL — National Library
- PIR — Philippine Insurgent Records
- AN — Army and Navy Records
- PR — Provincial Records
- SD — Selected Documents

To

Nanay, Moody and Erwin Kurt

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Mass movements have been noted all over the world and are recurrent features in history. They are called by different names depending on their emphasis. If it is the elimination of alien persons, customs and values, it is nativistic. If it tends to revive moribund customs, values and even aspects of nature which are thought to have been in the perception of previous generations but are not now present, it is revivalistic. If there is a savior in human flesh involved, it is messianic. And if there is going to be an apocalyptic world transformation engineered by the supernatural, it is millenarian. Other labels have been given such as chiliastic, vitalistic, syncretistic, charismatic, utopian, reformative, transformative, revolutionary, cargo cults, cult movements and social movements. Anthony Wallace prefers to use the term revitalization movement which is "a deliberate, organized and conscious effort by some members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture."¹ It encompasses a wide range of expressions. A given movement may be nativistic, messianic, millenarian and revivalistic all at once.

In the Philippines, the late Spanish and early American periods witnessed a proliferation of religio-political protest movements in many provinces. Charismatic leaders, crusading "popes" and "messiahs" caught the fancy of the rural population and were able to make militant converts. Forbes makes the following observation:

Felipe Salvador, self-styled "pope," led a fanatical group which called themselves the *Santa Yglesia* or "Holy Church," an organization of outlaws formed to carry on banditry in Luzon. He has deserted from General Aguinaldo's army and set up brigandage in the province of Nueva Ecija, . . . where he conducted his plundering operations . . .

for over ten years. He was believed by his followers to have supernatural powers, including invulnerability.²

In Pangasinan and the Ilocos provinces, the *Guardia de Honor* flourished from 1894 to 1902. Originally founded by the Dominicans about the middle of the nineteenth century "to provide a devout escort for the Virgin's image during sacred processions, the society grew beyond its inceptors' expectations and gradually assumed more complex responsibilities."³ Meanwhile in Cavite in 1901, another supernaturalistic movement called the society of *Colorum* took shape.⁴

The Visayan Islands had their share of this social phenomenon. "Pope" Faustino led the *Dios-Dios* movement in Leyte while the rest of the island and Samar were convulsed by Pula-hanism whose members "wore, as a distinguishing mark, red trousers or a dash of red colour elsewhere about their sparse clothing."⁵ Thus they were called *Pulahanes*, for the Visayan word "*pula*" means "red." In Negros, the Babaylanes held sway. The name was derived from *babaylan*, the title given to the traditional shaman or religious functionary in the Visayas. Even with the coming of the Spaniards, the tradition survived in some remote places in the region. But even while they continued to practise their age-old ceremonies and rituals, acculturation was taking place. By the late nineteenth century, events came to a head with the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution. With the exit of the Spaniards, the Americans took over as the new colonial masters. This period saw the burgeoning of revitalization movements. From a religious base, Babaylanism acquired political overtones. With the advent of Isio, the revitalization process in Negros began.

¹Anthony Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," *American Anthropologist*, LVIII, No. 2 (1956), p. 265.

²William Cameron Forbes, *The Philippine Islands*, I (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928), pp. 228-29.

³David R. Sturtevant, *Agrarian Unrest in the Philippines* (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, Southeast Asia Program, 1969), p. 5.

⁴James A. Le Roy, *Philippine Life in Town and Country* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905), p. 121.

⁵Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines: Past and Present*, I (New York: Macmillan Company, 1914), p. 393.

Chapter II

THE SETTING

Negros Island

With an area of 4,905 square miles, Negros is the fourth largest island in the Philippines. Often described as shaped like a boot or a pistol, it is 118 miles long and varies from 22 to 49 miles in width.¹ It is situated in the Visayan region, separated from the densely populated island of Cebu on the east by the narrow Tañon Strait and from Panay on the west by the shallow Guimaras Strait. The central mountain range more or less divides the island into two provinces. Negros Occidental, oriented towards Panay, belongs to Western Visayas. Bacolod is the chief city and capital. The people on this side of Negros speak Ilongo or Hiligaynon. In Negros Oriental, Cebuano is spoken. Facing Cebu, it is part of Eastern Visayas with Dumaguete City as its provincial capital.

On the mountain range are several volcanic peaks, the tallest of which is Mt. Canlaon or Malaspina, an active volcano towering to 8,088 feet.² The mountains which extend almost throughout the entire length of the island lie closer to the eastern shores. As a result, "no great coastal plain exists here, as on the west, but mountains or rugged hills descend abruptly to the strand, leaving only here and there scattered patches of land . . ."³ It is on the western flank that the so-called "sugar belt" is located for it consists of broad plains.

Negros did not altogether escape the attention of the early explorers and chroniclers. Members of the Legaspi expedition in 1565 were able to touch the shores of the island. Esteban Rodriguez and his men were the first white men known to set foot there.⁴ Writing in 1573, Artieda observed that "farther west is another island, called Buglas, or Negros, because the inhabitants are black."⁵ Loarca, one of the early *encomenderos*



of Panay, stated in 1582 that the side of the island facing Cebu was sparsely populated while the one opposite Panay was thickly settled.⁶

The work of evangelization was started by the Augustinians. In 1575 and 1584, the convents of Binalbagan and Ilog, respectively, were established.⁷ The mission of Tanjay on the eastern coast was founded in 1580 which encompassed the sitios of Dumaguete, Siaton, Marabago and Manolongon.⁸ The Recollects continued the work began by the Augustinians, followed shortly by the Jesuits and after their expulsion, by the Dominicans. For a while after this, the secular clergy took over the administration of the parishes but due to lack of personnel, the spiritual care was once again entrusted to the Recollects in 1849.⁹ This order stayed until the outbreak of the revolution of 1898.

Negros by the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

A. *Political Condition*

In the early days, roughly what is now Negros Occidental used to be administered from Iloilo and the eastern side was under the jurisdiction of Cebu. However, in 1734 the island was made into a separate military district with its own *corregidor* or highest official who administered justice and collected the tribute.¹⁰

The second half of the nineteenth century was a period of rapid growth and development for Negros. In 1856 it became an independent politico-military province with Emilio Saravia as its first Politico-Military Governor. The transfer of the capital indicated the progress made in opening new towns. From Ilog, an old coastal settlement in the south, the seat of government was moved to Himamaylan and from there to Bacolod in 1849.¹¹ This was due to the fact that the latter was nearer the newly developed areas of northern Negros which became the towns of Saravia, Silay, Victorias, Minuluan, Cadiz, Manapla and others. Both Saravia and his successor, Pedro Beaumont, accelerated the development of the island. Commercial agriculture was now underway. This was the period when the immigration of people, mostly from the neighboring islands of Panay,

Cebu and Bohol, accounted for the increase in population and the formation of new towns. Negros became their "El Dorado" or promised land. According to Echauz, there were 30,000 inhabitants in 1850. Thirty years later, it had soared to 200,000 and in 1893 it reached 320,606.¹²

It was not until 1890 that Negros was split into two provinces, each with a Politico-Military Governor. Negros Oriental was, therefore, established as a separate political unit with Dumaguete as its capital. Siquijor Island, formerly belonging to Bohol, was made a part of the oriental side.¹³ The Spaniards were ousted in the revolution of 1898 only to be replaced by the Americans the following year. The cantonal governments in both provinces were short-lived. With the establishment in 1899 of the military-civil government under the Americans as provided for in General Order No. 30¹⁴ of Maj. Gen. Elwell Otis, the whole island was briefly united politically. When the civil government was instituted in 1901, Negros was once again divided into two provinces.

B. *Economic Condition*

The winds of change had started to blow before the 1850's. At the beginning of the century, the Spaniards realized they could no longer isolate the Philippines from world commerce. In 1809 an English company was allowed to operate in the country and others later followed suit.¹⁵ The historic galleon trade between Manila and Acapulco came to an end in 1815. Soon the foreign trade of the country was monopolized by the foreign merchants. Legarda has this to say:

The decade of the 1820's saw an outburst of activity in the establishment of business houses, including the two American houses of Peele, Hubbell and Company and Russell and Sturgis, and several British firms . . .

In the half century between 1820 and 1870, the Philippines was transformed from a subsistence economy to an agricultural export economy.¹⁶

The changes were felt throughout the archipelago and in 1855 the ports of Iloilo, Zamboanga and Sual were opened to foreign trade. Cebu port was opened in 1860, followed by Legaspi and Tacloban in 1872.¹⁷ A British Vice-Consul was

needed for Iloilo and Nicholas Loney was chosen for the job. A young and enterprising man from Plymouth, England, he came to the Philippines in 1852 after having been in South America, New Zealand and Singapore. His arrival in Iloilo in 1856 marked the beginning of a new and prosperous era for Panay and Negros. Known as the "Father of the Sugar Industry" in the two islands, he, more than anyone else, spurred the growth of this industry.¹⁸ In partnership with another Englishman named Ker, Loney "engaged in financing sugar production, importing sugar cane seeds from Sumatra, sugar machinery from England and Scotland and exporting sugar to foreign countries."¹⁹ He died while at the peak of his career in 1869 and as a tribute to him, a marble monument was erected in the Iloilo cemetery where he was buried and the waterfront was called *Muelle Loney*.²⁰

The demand for sugar in the foreign market developed the idle lands in Negros and kept the port of Iloilo busy inasmuch as the former had no commercial port. Thus sugar had to be brought to Iloilo by *lorchas*.²¹ In 1859 Loney happily wrote his brother, Robert, that he had "at last managed to set the direct trade to Australia in motion, having loaded the brig 'Pet' and the barque 'Camilla' with sugar for Melbourne."²² In fact, this was the first shipment of sugar from Iloilo to a foreign port. In 1863 shipments to Great Britain and China were also made.²³ This was indeed a far cry from the crude industry that Loney deplored upon his arrival. With the advent of new and improved machinery like the steam mills [that replaced the wooden crushers] and the iron rollers, sugar output soon outstripped that of palay, once the leading product of Negros. Echauz was quick to point out that the prosperity enjoyed by the island was due to the united efforts of a group of people led by the energetic governor, ably assisted by the Recollects and some Spaniards. It was also favored by the opening of the port of Iloilo and the presence of Nicholas Loney.²⁴

People looking for greener pastures flocked to Negros, be they rich merchants who wanted to invest their money like Teodoro Yulo, foreigners like the Spaniard Montilla and the Frenchman Gaston, or laborers out to better their economic condition. Settlers from Cebu and Bohol established themselves in the oriental and northern parts of the island. But the Ilongos led in the immigration. Most of them came from Jaro, Molo,

Developments in Negros from 1850 to 1893

	1850	1880	1893
Inhabitants	30,000	200,000	320,606
Towns	17	30	42
Secular priests	11	2	—
Recollect priests	6	30	47
Sugar (in piculs)	3,000	618,120	1,800,000
Palay (in cavans)	10,000	659,330	430,000
Corn (in cavans)	2,000	153,840	200,000
Tobacco (in bales)	1,000	4,827	6,317
Abaca (in piculs)	—	12,322	16,740
Coffee (in cavans)	—	4,298	1,115
Wooden mills	7	—	—
Iron mills run			
by animal power	—	495	500
Steam mills	—	59	274
Hydraulics	—	17	47
Steam plows	—	—	3
Tramways	—	—	23

Source: Echauz, *Apuntes*, pp. 33-37

Mandurriao, Guimbal, Tigbauan and Miagao, all in Iloilo, and some from Capiz and Antique. The Montillas, Ledesmas, Yuloš, Lacsons, De la Ramas, Magalonas, Aranetas, Luzuriagas and many others soon acquired big tracts of land in Negros. The important *haciendas* began to be established in the late 1850's and 1860's. Agustin Montilla had his Hacienda Constancia in Ubay; Ives Germain Gaston his H. Buenretiro in Silay; Lucio Lacson his H. Matabang and Simeon Ledesma his H. Bagacay, both in Talisay; Jose Luzuriaga his H. Lupit in Bacolod; Teodoro Yulo his H. Concepcion in Binalbagan; and Juan Araneta his H. Ma-ao in Bago. The Montenegros, Diagos, Avellas and others settled in the fertile plain of Bais in the oriental coast.²⁵

The ubiquitous Chinese also played a role in the development of Negros, whether as landowners or businessmen, al-

though most of them belonged to the latter category. Gradually they were absorbed into the mainstream of Negrense society. Romero states that "many of them acquired Filipino family names or gave native-sounding variants to their names such as Limsiaco for Lim-Sia-Co, Lacson for Lac-Son, Jocson for Joc-Son, Coleongco for Co-Leong-Co, etc."²⁶

There were several ways by which land was acquired in Negros. According to Bauzon, lands changed hands through the following methods:²⁷

1. *venta real* or absolute sale
2. *pacto de retroventa* or *sanglang-bili*
3. allocation of *realengas* or public lands
4. *usurpación* or landgrabbing
5. *embargo* or seizure for failure to pay debts
6. *denuncia* or the principle of prior and effective occupation
7. inheritance

Many peasants lost their lands through the *pacto de retroventa*. Fr. de la Costa explains why:

Outside the older estates, land was accumulating in the hands of enterprising natives and Chinese mestizos. Small cultivators in need of capital usually went to them for a loan. Loans to natives in excess of twenty-five pesos were illegal, so there came into current use a form of sale with option to repurchase (*pacto de retroventa*), with the borrower's land as the object of transaction. Few small cultivators were able to take up the option. . . . its former owner stayed on as a share-cropping tenant with none of the responsibilities of ownership. He still lacked capital, and so remained in debt from year to year to the money-lender turned hacendero.²⁸

With the sugar boom, economic prosperity reigned in Negros even with such occasional drawbacks as lack of work animals and laborers, calamities, and the fluctuating prices of sugar. But the prosperity did not filter down to the peasants. The common *tao* remained as destitute as he was before the sugar boom. Captain White makes this observation:

Conditions in Negros approximate more closely those

which have brought bloody revolution to Mexico and Central American countries for so many years, for the land has been alienated from the peasants and is held in large parcels. This has brought about speedy development of the province and apparent prosperity; but it has resulted in a social structure much less solid and safe than that of other provinces in the islands.²⁹

General Hughes testified that "the ordinary wages if paid regularly and promptly, which seemed to satisfy the native, was one peso a week . . . If he got that he seemed to be content. But he needed that to buy his rice."³⁰ But there were hacenderos who did not pay promptly and regularly. The workers' wages could hardly keep body and soul together. They were often in debt and from the clutches of the money-lenders and masters few were able to escape. White further states that:

During the Spanish days the hacienda laborers were often unjustly treated by their masters and could be imprisoned for debt or required to work it out for the creditor. . . . during my time in Negros, I was often called up to rescue *taos* from the clutches of their creditors or release them from unlawful imprisonment by municipal officials.³¹

A growing social restlessness manifested itself in Negros characterized by robbery, kidnapping, killing and burning of haciendas.

C. Social Structure

"The end result of Spanish domination," writes Sturtevant, "was the strengthening of the indigenous social structure. The rural population broke down into three major groups: *caciques*, peasant proprietors, and tenants."³² These were the counterparts of the *datus*, freemen, and serfs of the early days. The traditional role of the elite was maintained by the Spaniards and as will be seen later, so did the Americans when their turn to rule came. The term *cacique* was originally given to a chieftain or local magnate in Haiti when the Spaniards went there.³³ In Negros, however, the name came to mean the hacendero or the big landowner. A Negros newspaperman called the social classes in the island *hacenderos*, *aparceros*, and *jornaleros*³⁴ which

more or less corresponds to Sturtevant's classification. The *aparceros* had been described as "generally old farm hands who have earned the good graces of the owner and are given a chance to improve their lot by working a piece of land, the owner sharing in the products thereof."³⁵ The *jornaleros* belong to the lowest rung of the social ladder, earning their daily wages by working in the hacienda.³⁶ Observes Crippen: "The cane field worker is employed as he is needed, although he and his family, who are also workers, are often permitted to live in huts on the hacienda during the slack season."³⁷

Lack of laborers was a perennial problem of the hacenderos. They had to be "imported each year, by contract for the season, from the neighboring islands of Panay and Cebu."³⁸ These seasonal workers came to be known as *sacadas*. The hacenderos were forced to give advance money just so they could have them during the peak season. Many breaches of faith by the workers after receiving the money advanced plagued the hacenderos.

This is how an American Constabulary officer assigned in Negros during the early 1900's describes the situation in the hacienda:

Each hacienda was a community in itself—a feudal community of which the hacendero was the overlord. The hacendero's house, like a baron's fortress in the Middle Ages, stood in the center of the buildings and dependents' huts. . . .

The wealthy hacendero lived in state. . . . His daughters often spoke English or French, learned in a convent in Hongkong or it might be Paris. His house was furnished with what passed for European furniture, . . .³⁹

In the early days when the hacendero lived among his people, he, more often than not, maintained a paternalistic attitude towards his dependents or workers. He came to their assistance in times of need and intimately knew his tenant families. However, when the landlord started living away from his hacienda and hired an overseer to supervise the work, the symbiotic relationship between the hacendero and his tenants or workers was eroded.⁴⁰ The social chasm widened and became harder to bridge as the years rolled on.

¹Frederick L. Wernstedt and Joseph E. Spencer, *The Philippine Island World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), p. 29.

²Ibid.

³Herbert S. Walker, *The Sugar Industry in the Island of Negros* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1910), p. 11.

⁴"Miguel Lopez de Legaspi's Voyage of Discovery and Conquest of the Philippines," *The Colonization and Conquest of the Philippines by Spain* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1965), pp. 62-67.

⁵Captain Diego de Artieda, "Relation of the Western Island Called Filipinas," *ibid.*, p. 242.

⁶Miguel de Loarca, "Relación de las Yslas Filipinas," *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, ed. by Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, V (55 vols.; Cleveland: A. H. Clark, 1903-1909), p. 47.

⁷Francisco Varona, *Negros: Historia anecdótica de su riqueza y de sus hombres* (Manila: General Printing Press, 1938), pp. 6-7.

⁸Marabago is now Bacong and Manolongon is a part of Santa Catalina. Licinio Ruiz, *Sinopsis histórica de la Provincia de San Nicolas de Tolentino de las Islas Filipinas de la Orden de Agustinos Descalzos*, II (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press, 1925), p. 120.

⁹Pedro Sanz, *Plan de Misiones para Isla de Negros* (Manila: Establecimiento tipografica de Ramirez y Giraudier, 1881), p. 9; Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga, *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas*, II (Madrid: Minuesa de los Rios, 1893), p. 88.

¹⁰Martínez, *Estadismo*, II, p. 88.

¹¹Zoilo M. Galang, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Philippines*, VIII (10 vols.; Manila: P. Vera and Sons Co., 1936), pp. 399-400.

¹²Robustiano Echauz, *Apuntes de la Isla de Negros* (Manila: Tipolitografía de Chofre y Compañía, 1894), pp. 33-37.

¹³"Historical Data of Negros Oriental," IV (5 vols.; Compiled by the Public Schoolteachers in the province, 1952), pp. 1-2. NL.

¹⁴Marrion Wilcox, ed., *Harper's History of the War in the Philippines* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1900), pp. 231-33.

¹⁵Antonio M. Regidor and Joseph Warren Mason, *Commercial Progress in the Philippine Islands* (London: Dunn and Chidney, 1905), p. 20.

¹⁶Benito F. Legarda, Jr., "Foreign Trade, Economic Change and Entrepreneurship in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1955), p. 2.

¹⁷Horacio de la Costa, *Readings in Philippine History* (Manila: Bookmark, 1965), p. 145.

18This was the muscovado sugar industry for it was not until about 1913 that the transformation to centrifugal sugar production was achieved in the Philippines. *Handbook of the Sugar and Other Industries of the Philippines* (Manila: Sugar News Press, Inc., 1953), p. 40.

19A *Britisher in the Philippines or The Letters of Nicholas Loney* (Manila: National Library, 1964), p. xx.

20Ibid., pp. xix-xxii.

21*Lorchas* were sailing crafts. The first ones were built by the company of Loney and Ker in Guimaras Island modelled after the well-known Brixham trawlers of Devonshire, England. Ibid., p. xxi.

22Ibid., pp. 95-96.

23Echaz, *Apuntes*, p. 25.

24Ibid., p. 23.

25Varona's work is a mine of information regarding the life stories of these founding fathers of Negros. Varona, *Historia*, pp. 26-31, 51-82.

26Ma. Fe Hernaez Romero, *Negros Occidental Between Two Foreign Powers, 1888-1909* ([Bacolod] Negros Occidental Historical Commission, 1974), p. 48.

27Leslie E. Bauzon, "Rural History, Land Tenure and the Negros Hacienda Complex: Some Preliminary Notes," *PSSC Social Science Information*, I, No. 3 (1974), pp. 7, 21.

28De la Costa, *Readings*, p. 147.

29John R. White, *Bullets and Bolos: Fifteen Years in the Philippine Islands* (New York: Century Company, 1928), pp. 117-18.

30U.S. Congress, Senate, *Affairs in the Philippine Islands*, Hearings before the Committee on the Philippines of the U.S. Senate, 57th Cong., 1st sess., Doc. No. 331, Part I (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), p. 535.

31White, *Bullets*, pp. 52-53.

32David R. Sturtevant, "Philippine Social Structure and Its Relation to Agrarian Unrest" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1958), p. 54.

33Le Roy, *Philippine Life*, p. 174.

34As quoted in Cornelio R. Fuentes, *Apuntes documentados de la Revolución en toda la Isla de Negros*, Primera parte (Iloilo: El Centinela Inc., 1919), p. 17.

35*Handbook of Sugar*, p. 46.

36The farm laborers were usually paid at an average rate of twenty-

five centavos per day with food supplied by the *hacienda*, as noted by Walker in Negros in 1910. Walker, *Sugar Industry*, p. 20.

³⁷Harlan R. Crippen, "Philippine Agrarian Unrest: Historical Backgrounds," *Science and Society*, X, No. 4 (1946), p. 343.

³⁸Walker, *Sugar Industry*, p. 20.

³⁹White, *Bullets*, pp. 116-18.

⁴⁰Sturtevant, "Philippine Social Structure," pp. 51-53, 82-83.

Chapter III

BABAYLANISM: ITS ORIGINS

The Babaylan as a Religious Functionary in Pre-Spanish Philippines

There were no written records on the native religion that the Spaniards found upon their arrival in the Philippines. They discovered instead that it was based on oral tradition which was handed down from generation to generation through songs. Therefore, they reconstructed the pre-conquest religion mainly from this oral tradition as well as from the beliefs, rituals and practices they observed. Most of these early chroniclers were the missionaries like Alcina, Chirino, Plasencia, Ribadeneira and Aduarte. There were also laymen who came to the Philippines and left accounts of what they saw, heard and observed such as Pigafetta, the chronicler of the Magellan expedition; Loarca, one of the first Spanish settlers in Panay; and Morga, a royal official who stayed in the country for about eight years. For the Visayan islands, the accounts of Alcina, Loarca, and Chirino are quite valuable because they stayed long in the region.

The religion of the early Filipinos was simple with no highly developed theology. They venerated the dead and worshipped nature. They had vague recollections of a Supreme Being¹ who was the creator and lord of all, but he was relegated to the background by a host of more accessible deities and spirits who could be appeased by sacrifices. They were deemed his agents and ministers. The general terms *anitos* and *diuatas* embraced these deities, the dead ancestors as well as the environmental spirits.² Idols and images were made of these beings.

The deities, the dead and the environmental spirits were in one way or another involved in almost all human activities, however mundane—childbirth, naming, illness, farming

fishing and hunting, constructing a dwelling or choosing a village site, determining guilt and, of course, death.³

There was no priesthood as the Christians understand it. The ones who presided over the religious ceremonies were called *catalonan* by the Tagalogs and *babaylanes* by the Visayans.⁴ They were mostly old women. "If there was some man who might have been one, he was *Asog*, . . ." ⁵ that is, effeminate. These priests and priestesses acted as intermediaries and mediators between the gods and the people. They also interpreted signs and omens. They professed to know many things and claimed that they could even tell whether a sick person would live or die. They were really more of religious functionaries who performed specific duties and were paid for the job. This prestigious and highly lucrative office was acquired through friendship, kinship or inheritance.⁶ Or they could claim they had been selected by the *diuatas* or had communion with them.

For various reasons, sacrifices were offered to the *diuatas* and *anitos*. These they called *pagdiuatas* or *paganitos*. The *babaylanes* were very colorful figures during these ceremonies. This is how Loarca describes one such occasion:

The priestesses dress very gaily, with garlands on their heads, and are resplendent with gold. They bring to the place of sacrifice some *pitarrillas* (a kind of earthen jar) full of rice wine, besides a live hog and a quantity of prepared food. Then the priestess chants her songs and invokes the demon, who appears to her all glistening in gold. Then he enters her body and hurls her to the ground, foaming at the mouth as one possessed. In this state she declares whether the sick person is to recover or not. In regard to other matters, she foretells the future. All this takes place to the sound of bells and kettle-drums. Then she rises and taking a spear, she pierces the heart of the hog. They dress it and prepare a dish for the demons. Upon an altar erected there, they place the dressed hog, rice, bananas, wine and all the other articles of food that they brought.

There was no organized worship in a more or less permanent building devoted solely for that purpose. Thus, "in the house of sick, on the banks of the river, in the forests, or wherever, with

four sticks they set up the places and altars where they offered sacrifices, . . ."⁸ When the ceremony was over, they usually partook of the food they offered. Drinking, eating, even dancing and singing were common features in these affairs. From the many descriptions of these gatherings, one can infer that these were far from solemn affairs.

The Spanish writers were sceptical and quite contemptuous of the wide range of power that these babaylanes were supposed to possess. Alcina branded them as deceivers and frauds. That they held sway over a superstitious people cannot be denied, however. A sacrifice without a babaylan doing the honors was just not right.

Origins of the Movement

The Babaylan tradition survived especially in the mountainous areas of the Visayas. Le Roy tells us that:

In the interior districts of Panai, the sacrifice of pigs and frothing spasms of the *babailanes* (primitive soothsayers and witchdoctors, both women and men) have never at any time entirely ceased. The belief in charms, commonly called *anting-anting*, . . . has always survived.⁹

These charms were often sold at fifty centavos or a peso each. In 1874, the Spanish authorities ordered the capture of Juan Perfecto who lived in the mountains of Iloilo preaching to his followers known as Babaylanes. He sold them anting-anting with the initials J. P. to assure them of immunity from the bullets of their enemies and from whatever arms. Perfecto was later brought to Manila and was not heard of since.¹⁰

In the 1870's in Panay, Babaylanism was quite widespread, a religious sect of the mountain people. By this time, not only the leaders were called Babaylanes but the followers as well. The name came to refer to all those who believed in Babaylanism. The men by now had emerged the leaders or *mayor-mayor* instead of the old women in the olden days. With the immigrations in the second half of the nineteenth century, the cult was brought to Negros by the settlers from Panay.¹¹ It attracted quite a number of adherents and by 1896, they were well-

entrenched in the mountains of southern Negros Occidental. Capt. George Bowers, senior inspector of the Constabulary in Negros, reports that:

From time immemorial there has existed an organization known as *babaylanes*. This was merely the protest of the wild against the new order brought about by civilization. It used religion as its base, not religion in the commonly accepted term, but that conglomeration of ignorance and superstition in which someone comes forward and by his cunning and deceit appoints himself a god, a pope, priest, or some other, meaning leadership, authority and power.

During the Spanish regime there were many gods, popes and chiefs. If one was killed or captured there was always another to take his place. . . .

. . . In about 1880 he [Isio] went to Isabela where he became a herder for the Montilla family. He lived in the vicinity of Magallon and herded the cattle on the large cogon plains near that place. Soon after this he became involved in a quarrel with a Spaniard near La Castellana which resulted in the wounding of the Spaniard and Isio's flight to the mountains. Some time previous to this a celebrated chief named *Baraua Dios* had been killed. The time was ripe for another leader. Isio announced himself as "Pope." He was accepted by the people in the mountains as their leader. He erected crude churches, baptized, performed marriages, blessed his followers, and deceived them by selling them charms or *anting-anting*. In this manner he came to have great prestige with the people of the mountains and the laboring class in the lowlands.¹²

In 1900 Jose Luzuriaga testified before the Philippine Commission that the founders of Babaylanism were from the province of Antique.¹³ Isio was reported to be a native of this province but had lived in Negros since his boyhood.¹⁴ According to Echauz, the Babaylan tradition spread to different islands and provinces in the Visayas but the seat was in Panay where reunions were held every seven years during the new moon in March.¹⁵

Rituals and Ceremonies

As in the past, rituals and ceremonies preoccupied the Babaylanes. The same type of bacchanalian festivities and gatherings described by the early chroniclers were practised. They met every year in small groups but the reunions in Panay every seven years were grand affairs. Men, women and children from many Visayan towns trooped to the site of the gathering with their gifts and offerings. A *camarin* or crude building constructed with huge pillars and roofed with cogon served as their temple. It was located in an almost inaccessible sitio that could be reached only through narrow, misleading footpaths. Near this place of worship was a spring of clear water which the Babaylanes claimed had a supernatural effect. The water also served as a tonic to the parched throats of the officiating ministers who danced and shouted during the ceremonies.

In the reunion of 1874 celebrated in the mountains of Tubbungan, Iloilo, Ingo of Cabatuan and Ingo of Leon led in the ceremonies. The Babaylanes had combined indigenous practices with foreign elements in their rituals and liturgy. They did not wear rosaries or scapularies around their necks but carried instead amulets in their pockets. The first five pages of the Babaylan scriptures were filled with scribblings in Latin followed by a lithography of the *Padre Eterno*. Next came the Visayan texts in green, red and black letters. The mayor-mayor officiated during the ceremony dressed in a black tunic. Two neophytes accompanied him bringing platters filled with offerings of *buyo*,¹⁶ tobacco and food such as fish, rice cakes, sweets and others. The mayor-mayor placed the holy books on the altar in between the jars of *pangasi* and *tuba*.¹⁷ The number "7" figured prominently in their ceremonies. The leader touched the altar seven times with the dagger; seven pigs were sacrificed every seven years when they had their reunions; seven tunics were thrown into the fire; and seven times the officiating minister jumped over the pig before piercing it with the dagger. The pigs were later cooked, and with the other offerings, the mayor-mayor led the procession to the sacred woods to offer the food to the spirits. As in the gatherings of old, feasting invariably followed these sacrifices.¹⁸

Anting-anting and Oraciones

The anting-anting played an important role in Babaylanism. But its use was not confined to Panay and Negros only. It was common throughout the whole archipelago. The leaders claimed themselves to be immune to bullets and to have the power to give immunity to their followers. This immunity was transferred by means of anting-anting . . ."¹⁹ Isio was no exception. Captain White tells us that:

Papa Isio was strong on the dispensation of these charms, giving one to each of his followers which usually took the form of a scrap of paper covered with crude writing and figures, a cross, a few Ave Marias, some dog-Latin and the impress of a wooden seal, "Gobierno Revolucionario de Negros," . . . The bit of paper was sewn into a bag and suspended from the neck in locket fashion. Sometimes a bullet or even a colored stone was the *anting-anting*; or for that matter, a bit of dried snake or lizard in a little bottle, or a piece of colored glass; and on one occasion I took from the neck of a dead *babaylan* the glass stopper of a bottle.²⁰

White wondered how Isio managed to sustain the prestige of his charms with the frequent killings of his men. He did not realize that Isio had a perfect solution to this problem. He just told his followers that if they got killed or wounded even with their charms, it was because they did not follow the condition set, that no word be uttered during a fight.²¹

There were many kinds of charms. There was one against the bullets of the enemy. There was one against bolo, sword or dagger wounds. There were those called *tigalpa* that with the shout of the possessor, the enemy could not move. There was one called *tagaliwas*, a kind of magic, for if the owner of the charm wanted to be invisible, nothing would be seen of him.²² They also believed in *oraciones* or prayers to keep them safe from harm. These were written in an incomprehensible jargon that was part Latin, part Spanish and part local dialect. This is one of the *oraciones* captured by the American forces in Samar:

Oracion San pagdongug san armas de fuego

Jesus y salvo al sol—prendido igo
Lobis igolis isindot amen.²³

A 92-year-old resident the author interviewed in Manalad, Ilog, Negros Occidental, claimed he received an oracion from Isio that started with "Jesus las novis las novis, luwason mo kami."²⁴ Another oldtimer in Bayawan, Negros Oriental, was able to recite the one Isio supposedly taught him which runs this way:

Animatiste sintepicano Corpus Cristi salva mi
Entre tua Santos Dios Santos Dios
Eche laurente eche colas eche colorum amen.²⁵

Babaylanism as a Religious Movement

There is a dearth of source materials on the religious side of the movement but scattered references give us a glimpse into this aspect of Babaylanism. As reported by Captain Bowers, Isio "erected crude churches, baptized, performed marriages, blessed his followers, . . ."²⁶ In 1904 when the headquarters of Isio in Cabungbungan was overrun by the Constabulary, some church ornaments, vestments, uniforms and the Pope's crown were captured aside from the rifles taken. At Pontevedra, the municipal police captured a sister of one of Isio's "generals" who served as *cantor* or choir member in their church.²⁷

Mediators were later employed to convince Isio to surrender and one of them was Herman Grupi of La Castellana. Captain Kennon reveals that Isio received Grupi near Isabelita "seated on a sort of throne which was placed on a large rock. Arrayed in purple robes and with a miter on his head, he posed as the successor of St. Peter, . . ."²⁸ Grupi was forced to kiss Isio's hand during this interview and to occupy a lowly seat.

As can be gleaned from these disclosures, the religious practices of the Babaylanes by this time was a mixture of indigenous as well as Catholic elements. Many Catholic terms, practices, rites and ceremonies found their way into Babaylanism. The title "Papa" given to Isio means "Pope" which is the title of the Roman Catholic pontiff. They also used terms such as *Padre Eterno*, *Mayor-mayor* and *General* which shows acculturation

had taken place. Latin and Spanish words are included in the oraciones. They were said to kneel at six o'clock in the evening for a short meditation just like the observance of "angelus" among Catholics.²⁹ When a group went to Siaton, "the residents offered them carabao meat. They refused the meat, explaining they did not eat meat on Wednesdays, a reinterpretation of an imported Catholic custom."³⁰ The Philippine Commission in its report to the Secretary of War correctly assessed the situation by stating that:

If the discipline or any doctrine or ceremony of the Christian faith appealed to him he adopted it, but uprooted none of his ancient beliefs to give it place. Whatever of Christianity he may have has substituted nothing; it has simply been added to the religion of his ancestors and made a part of it.³¹

Papa Isio

Available records show that Isio was originally a laborer in the lowlands of southern Negros Occidental before his flight to the mountains. Little is known of his early life. Several versions have been given regarding his origin. One informant said he was from Isabelala.³² Marco claims he was born in 1835 in Bago. Because he was a disobedient child, he was sent away by his parents. He later became a herder in an hacienda in La Carlota.³³ Another source states that Isio was from Antique.³⁴ When he was still a small boy, his family left Panay for Negros. They settled in Himamaylan and engaged in farming until a landlord ordered them to leave the place. They moved inland and established themselves in Payao which is near Isabelala. Here the parents died and the family was broken up. Isio probably drifted from one odd job to another. He was a *tuba* gatherer in Payao. In Ilog, he was said to have worked for *Capitán* Carlos Gemora.³⁵ Sometime in 1880 he became the *vaquero* or herder of the Montillas of Isabelala. Not long after this, he fled to the mountains after wounding a Spaniard in a quarrel.³⁶ Although uneducated, he must have been quite a character and a charismatic leader for he was able to attract many proselytes. The exact date when Isio became the "pope" of the Babaylanes is

difficult to determine. But by 1896 he was already the acknowledged head of the group as shown in the *Guardia Civil* report of December 21.³⁷ By this time, he was well-entrenched in the mountains between Himamaylan and Isabela for the Guardia Civil who pursued his group discerned well-trodden footpaths leading to his hideout and were able to burn watchtowers, houses, palay and other stored provisions.

To his followers, he was simply known as "Papa" Isio. As to his real name, there are conflicting reports. In some sources he is referred to as Dionisio Magbuela; in others, Dionisio Segobela. Some records show his name as Dionisio Papa y Barlucia. Still in others as Dionisio Siguela Papa. However, in most extant documents, he signed as Dionisio Papa.³⁸ Those who professed to have seen him describe Isio as short and dark. He was agile and energetic although well past his prime.³⁹ He most probably spoke and understood a little Spanish since it was the universal language at this time among the hacenderos⁴⁰ and the workers "caught" the language from them. Some extant documents of Isio are in Spanish although he might not have personally written all these letters and directives for, on one occasion, he mentioned he needed an *escribiente* or clerk who knew how to write communications.⁴¹

Isio was reputed to be a *maayong laki*, a man with supernatural powers. He was known to have anting-anting and recited oraciones. Interestingly, Isio was never captured nor killed in the many encounters he had with the Guardia Civil during the Spanish period and the Philippine Constabulary during the American era. This reinforced the Babaylanes' belief in the efficacy of their amulets and prayers.

¹The Tagalogs referred to him as *Bathala* while the Visayans called him *Malaon* or *Laon*, the Ancient One. Pedro Chirino, *Relación de las Islas Filipinas*, trans. by Ramon Echevarria (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1969), p. 60; Francisco Ignacio de Alcina, *Historia de las Islas e Indios de Bisayas*, trans. by Paul S. Lietz, Part I, Bk. 3 (Chicago: Univer-

sity of Chicago, Philippine Studies Program, 1960), pp. 183-86.

²Alcina, *Historia*, pp. 187-88; Chirino, *Relación*, p. 298; Loarca, *Relación*, pp. 173-75.

³Robert B. Fox, "The Prehistoric Foundations of Philippine Culture," *Solidarity*, III, No. 2 (1968), p. 91.

⁴Loarca, *Relación*, p. 173; Chirino, *Relación*, p. 63; Alcina, *Historia*, p. 212.

⁵Alcina, *Historia*, p. 212.

⁶Chirino, *Relación*, p. 65.

⁷Loarca, *Relación*, p. 133. Pigafetta describes a similar ceremony he witnessed more than half a century earlier. Antonio Pigafetta, *First Voyage Around the World* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1969), pp. 42-43.

⁸Alcina, *Historia*, p. 226.

⁹Le Roy, *Philippine Life*, p. 132.

¹⁰Robert H. Noble, *Compilation of Insurgent Documents Pertaining to the Visayan Group, 1898-1902*, interpreted by Florencio R. Fabie (32 vols.; Iloilo: Office of the Adjutant General, Fifth Separate Brigade, 1902), X, 1676. Microfilm Collection, NL. (Hereinafter referred to as NC.)

¹¹Echauz, *Apuntes*, p. 137.

¹²U.S., War Department, Bureau of Insular Affairs, *Eighth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1907, Part II* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908), pp. 310-11.

¹³U.S., War Department, Bureau of Insular Affairs, *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President, January 31, 1900, II* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), p. 415.

¹⁴*Eighth Annual Report, Part II*, p. 294.

¹⁵Echauz, *Apuntes*, p. 138.

¹⁶Betel nut.

¹⁷kinds of native wine.

¹⁸Echauz, *Apuntes*, pp. 137-44.

¹⁹Forbes, *Philippine Islands*, p. 228.

²⁰White, *Bullets*, pp. 84-85.

²¹U.S., War Department, Bureau of Insular Affairs, *Annual Reports of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1902, IX* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), p. 406.

²²National Library, Manila, *Philippine Insurgent Records*, Selected Documents, Box 19, Doc. No. 553.12. (Hereinafter referred to as *PIR*.)

²³NC, XXII, 3609.

²⁴Interview with Apolonio Quintab, December 21, 1974.

²⁵Interview with Lucio Taliseo, January 3, 1975.

²⁶*Eighth Annual Report*, Part II, p. 311.

²⁷U.S., War Department, Bureau of Insular Affairs, *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1904*, Part I (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1905), p. 550.

²⁸*Annual Reports, 1902*, p. 410.

²⁹Interview with Pedro Lozada, Isabela, Negros Occidental, December 20, 1974.

³⁰Donn V. Hart, "Buhawi of the Bisayas: The Revitalization Process and Legend Making in the Philippines," *Studies in Philippine Anthropology*, ed. by Mario D. Zamora (Quezon City: Alemar-Phoenix Publishing House, 1967), p. 390.

³¹U.S., War Department, Bureau of Insular Affairs, *Annual Reports of the War Department, 1907* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908), p. 11.

³²Interview with Nicolas Lapore, Isio, Cauayan, Negros Occidental, December 21, 1974.

³³José E. Marco, *Reseña histórica de la Isla de Negros desde los tiempos mas remotos hasta nuestros días*, annotated by Manuel Artigas y Cuerva (Manila: La Vanguardia, 1912), pp. 137-38. His credibility, however, has been greatly shaken by the exposé made of his alleged forgeries.

³⁴*Eighth Annual Report*, Part II, p. 294.

³⁵Interview with Filemon Gemora, municipal councilor of Ilog, Negros Occidental and the grandson of Carlos Gemora, on December 22, 1974. Carlos Gemora was a Spanish mestizo, from Guimbal, Iloilo who served the longest term as *Capitán* of Ilog during the Spanish era. He was also the biggest landowner. When the agitation against Spain began, he was said to have been in contact with Isio. He died in 1901.

³⁶*Eighth Annual Report*, Part II, p. 310.

³⁷"Sucesos de Negros desde Octubre de 1896 a Febrero de 1897," n.p., n.d., pp. 13-14. UST.

³⁸*Annual Reports, 1902*, IX, p. 411; *Eighth Annual Report*, Part II, p. 294; Romero, *Negros Occidental*, p. 168; *PIR*, SD 32, Doc. Nos. 970.4, 970.7, 970.8.

³⁹Interview with Pedro Lozada, Isabela, Negros Occidental, December 20, 1974; Interview with Lucio Taliseo, Bayawan, January 3, 1975.

⁴⁰Walker, *Sugar Industry*, p. 19.

⁴¹Letter of Isio to Rufo Oyos, March 4, 1901, *PIR*, SD 32, Doc. No. 970.7.

Chapter IV

THE BABAYLAN MOVEMENT DURING THE LAST YEARS OF SPANISH RULE

Guardia Civil Campaigns Against the Malhechores in Negros

To maintain public order and pursue and apprehend the *malhechores* or evildoers, the *Guardia Civil* was organized in 1868. Originally, it had a single division but by 1880, two divisions were created for Luzon and the Visayas. Organized on a military basis, its officers and men were drawn from the regular Spanish army.¹ That the *Guardia Civil* was a powerful institution, much feared and eventually hated by many people is corroborated by the following observations:

The *guardia civil* had jurisdiction over all sorts of violations of laws and municipal ordinances. They made reports upon which were based the appointments of municipal officers, the granting of licenses to carry firearms, and the determination of the loyalty or the disloyalty of individuals.

They were vested with extraordinary powers. Offences against them were tried by court-martial, and were construed as offences against sentinels on duty. . . .

The *guardia civil* could arrest on suspicion, and while the Spanish Government did not directly authorize or sanction the use of force to extort confessions, it was not scrupulous in the matter of accepting confessions so obtained as evidence of crime, nor was it quick to punish members of the *guardia civil* charged with mistreatment of prisoners.²

With such license and wide-ranging powers, abuses were bound to happen. This was how a captain of the civil guards dispensed justice as recounted by Worcester:

A captain once told me that having had *tulisanes*, whom he had been at much trouble to capture, released on several occasions, he changed his policy. Thereafter, while bringing them in, he ordered his men ahead, saying that he would watch the prisoners, and as soon as the soldiers were out of sight, got two of the worst rascals in line and put a bullet through them—reporting to his men, who of course came running back, that they had tried to escape.³

In the 1870's a growing social restlessness and lawlessness began to manifest itself in Negros, precipitating the establishment of the Guardia Civil there in 1879.⁴ Eight years later, the movement led by Ponciano Elope, better known as *Dios Buhaw*,⁵ so alarmed the Spanish authorities that forces were sent to Negros by Gov.-Gen. Valeriano Weyler. In the same year, Weyler came in a battleship with five hundred soldiers and anchored off the coast of Siaton.⁶

Elope was from Zamboangita. His predictions and extraordinary powers enabled him to attract a large following from the different settlements of the oriental coast, from Tolong in the south to Tanjay in the north. It is very probable that Buhaw's movement was in the *babaylan* tradition for striking similarities abound in the movements spearheaded by him and Isio. Both posed as religious heads, professed supernatural powers, recruited proselytes, wore uniforms and practised similar rites. They were also anti-Spanish. The affinity is further confirmed in a letter purportedly written by Isio in 1901 to his general in Sipalay, Rufo Oynos, when he ordered "to have in the ranks all the soldiers of the god Buhaue, those of Basay and of Colipapa, . . ." ⁷ so they would be ready for the planned uprising on the twentieth of December.

Another *tulisan* or bandit in Negros that the civil guards had a hard time tracking down was Ca Martin. He was said to have an amulet.⁸ He operated in the area near Tolong. While Buhaw was no longer a menace, having been killed by the civil guards in Siaton in 1889, Ca Martin continued to roam in the mountains. A report of March 15, 1889 states that seven patrols had left Tolong to pursue him.⁹ Whether or not he was eventually captured is difficult to know. Very meager data on him are available.

Meanwhile in southern Negros Occidental, Isio was gaining adherents.

Up to the year 1896 the *babaylanes* confined their operations to the mountain districts and did not pretend to have a political character. But in this year began the agitation against the Spanish government. Isio decided to take a part. He made his first attack in the lowlands at Magallon. Here the *guardia civil* overtook his force and killed more than fifty.¹⁰

Isio was already consolidating his hold in the mountainous areas. The Governor of Negros Occidental in his communication to the Commandant General of Panay and Negros stationed in Iloilo, dated December 15, 1896, quotes the report of the Guardia Civil in Ilog which relayed the message that they kept on "receiving news of people who are absent daily from the towns and haciendas, supposing that all are taking refuge in the mountain . . ." ¹¹ Again in the month of January, another report from Ilog states that the *Capitán municipal* of Kabancalan had informed them of the disappearance from his town of some natives with their wives and children in order to join Isio and to celebrate a campaign mass in the barrio of Lapnis.¹² Already forewarned, the civil guards did not waste time in hunting down the group. Sure enough, in the aforementioned barrio, they encountered more than one thousand armed men. To the shouts of "Long Live Spain!," "Long Live the Queen Regent!," "Long Live the Captain General!," and "Long Live the 22nd Regiment of the Civil Guards!," the Babaylanes countered with "Long Live Rizal!," "Long Live the Free Philippines!," and "Death to the Spaniards!" ¹³ The execution of Rizal was still fresh in the memory of the people and his death most probably was a contributory factor in their desire to throw off the Spanish yoke. This encounter resulted in the death of 40 Babaylanes. Though superior in number, their lances and *talibong*¹⁴ were no match for the guns of their opponents. They fought bravely and savagely, coming as close as ten meters from the muzzle of the guns. The belief in the efficacy of their amulets induced them to fight fanatically to the death.

An earlier report stated that the *Capitán municipal* of Isabela sent a dispatch disclosing that from 70 to 80 men with

sidearms were seen going towards the opposite coast.¹⁵ They were said to be bound for Tayasan. Several months later, the civil guards under Captain Roldan undertook another campaign against them with the help of Fr. Eusebio Valderrama, parish priest of Ayuñgon, and Basilio Deligero who acted as the guide. The latter had formerly been a prisoner of the Babaylanes. The encounter took place on February 6, 1897 in Bontoc, a sitio between Tayasan and Ayuñgon. There were about a thousand well-entrenched men who with their crude weapons fought with the cries of "Long Live the Philippines!" and "Down with the Spaniards!" reverberating. Eighty-five rebels were killed while 12 civil guards were badly bruised and wounded especially by the stones used as projectiles by the Babaylanes. Forty-eight houses were burned and captured were 19 lances, two Smith revolvers, 19 cartridges, one saber, four talibong and other weapons plus armors, helmets, some with masonic signs, as well as 12 books of *anting-anting*.¹⁶ Another fight took place in Manjuyod in May when a patrol came across 25 Babaylanes and in the ensuing skirmish, three of the latter were killed.¹⁷

The Babaylanes were also known as *Civil-civil*. This was probably because they wore uniforms similar to that of the civil guards.¹⁸ The name *Pulahan* was also applied to them due to the fact that they wore red bands just like the Pulahanes of Samar and Leyte. The generals "are uniformed in grayish blue with stripes of red and blue, ending in a triangle of white, in imitation of the insurgent flag. The soldiers wear straw hats with red band. Officers wear a blue chasseur cap with red band."¹⁹

While the Guard Civil pursued the Babaylanes in their mountainous retreats, they were also alarmed by the clandestine activities they observed in the lowlands. This was the prelude to the revolution which erupted in November, 1898 and ended Spanish rule in Negros. This came two years after the "Cry of Pugad Lawin" which signalled the start of the Revolution of 1896 against Spain spearheaded by Andres Bonifacio and the Katipuneros.

The Revolution Against Spain in Negros

Spain was anxious to retain her hold in the Philippines even

after war with the United States was declared. Gen. Diego de los Rios was appointed Captain General of the Islands except for the small area under the immediate jurisdiction of General Augustin who was harassed in Manila by the American and Filipino forces. From his Mindanao command, De los Rios proceeded to Iloilo where he established the seat of government, taking some 100 European and 700 native troops. This force was augmented by about 3,000 native and 250 peninsular soldiers in the Visayas, most of whom were sick. With such a pitiful force, De los Rios braced himself to defend the region. On June 30, 1898, he was instructed by the Madrid government to do all he could to maintain the sovereignty of Spain.²⁰

When news of the surrender of Manila reached him, he formed the Council of Reforms in October, 1898 made up of 24 prominent citizens of Iloilo and Negros enjoining them to propose such measures as would redound to the welfare of the Visayan Islands as well as ensure the continuance of Spanish rule.²¹ This last-minute move came to naught. It was now too late to stem the tide of revolution. Active on the scene by this time were the Filipino revolutionaries. In Iloilo, the *Comite Conspirador* was formed in March, 1898 with Quintin Salas as the first revolutionary chief of Panay. With the fall of Manila, agents provocateurs from Luzon were sent by Aguinaldo to the Visayas as well as expeditionary forces such as the ones headed by Leandro Fullón who operated in Antique, Ananias Diocno in Capiz, Vicente Lucban in Samar, and Ambrosio Mojica in Leyte. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Visayas was organized in Santa Barbara, Iloilo on November 17, 1898. Roque Lopez became its first president. This was reorganized into the Federal Council of State for the Visayas on December 12. It negotiated for the surrender of the Spanish garrison in Iloilo since Jaro and Molo were already in insurgent hands. On December 22, the Treaty of Peace made the day before between the Spanish authorities and the revolutionaries was ratified. The Spaniards soon evacuated Iloilo and the forces of Gen. Martin Delgado took over. In Cebu, General Montero turned over the reins of government to Pablo Mejia on December 24.²²

As early as 1896 in Negros, the Spanish officials, Guardia Civil, and especially the friars were alarmed at the subversive activities of certain individuals such as the unloading of

weapons and their distribution to some persons, reunions or secret meetings held and the recruiting of men. The Tagalogs and prominent citizens were especially suspect in view of the recent events in Luzon.²³ A Guardia Civil report of October 24 states that weapons were believed unloaded in Ilog and Carlos Gemora, Rafael Ramos and three others were apprehended for attempted rebellion.²⁴ Also arrested was a Tagalog, Silvestre Canleon, who was accused of conveying suspicious correspondence and selling weapons as well. He implicated Rosendo de Guzman, a Tagalog of Isabel, Roque Sacon of Binalbagan, Antonio Tianjan of Suay, Ricardo Albino of San Enrique and José Ner of Bacolod.²⁵ These men together with other leading Negrenses were arraigned before the corrupt Judge Insausti who accepted bribes from the prisoners. Some were released after paying stipulated amounts.²⁶

The Guardia Civil became panicky because of reported secret meetings in the south. In the oriental coast, suspicious goings-on were also noted. On the land of ex-Capitán Pedro Baguio, between Guihulngan and Baguines [Bagawinis], men were believed trained to handle guns and all kinds of sidearms. The wealthy *mestizo español* Diego de la Viña was reported to be building a house in a suspicious site in the mountains of Baguines where he had his *hacienda*.²⁷

Unmindful of the Truce of Biak-na-Bato, revolutionary leaders in the Visayas proceeded to map out plans for the projected uprising. In Molo, the Conspirators Committee held their first meetings in March, 1898 and Melecio Severino was appointed delegate for Negros Occidental.²⁸ Thus Negros was kept in close contact with the revolutionary movement in Panay. Early in April, the revolution in Cebu began under the leadership of Pantaleon Villegas, best known for his *nom de guerre* "Leon Kilat." Several months later, the Central Revolutionary Committee of the Visayas headed by Roque Lopez decided to throw in their lot with Aguinaldo. Local revolutionary committees were organized in Iloilo and Negros Occidental. Aniceto Lacson was elected military chief of the northern zone and Juan Araneta was his counterpart in southern Negros Occidental. Silay became the center of revolutionary activities in the province. The encouraging message sent by Roque Lopez on November 3 to General Lacson stating that Jaro was about to fall into their hands, precipitated the revolution in Negros. It

was decided that the uprising would take place on the fifth.²⁹ It was bound to break out sooner than expected because it came to the knowledge of José Luzuriaga that the Spaniards had prepared a list of undesirables and those blacklisted would be arrested anytime. Luzuriaga was said to be one of them and he rushed to tell the others of their impending doom.³⁰ The arrests and imprisonments and the detestable conduct of Judge Insausti coupled with the bloody tactics of Col. Ricardo Monet, Commandant General of the Guardia Civil, all helped to make Negros ripe for a revolution.³¹

On November 5, the towns of Negros Occidental one by one fell into the hands of the revolutionaries except the capital and Himamaylan, the latter defended by seven Spanish soldiers under the command of a corporal who offered spirited and stubborn resistance. They were finally convinced to surrender on the eighth. They were the last to do so since the capital had capitulated on the sixth. The Spanish force in Bacolod was undermanned, as was the case in the other towns, with only about 75 civil guards, 50 Spanish soldiers and a few peninsular volunteers as against the forces of General Lacson from the north numbering about 8,000 and those from the south under General Araneta close to 2,000. The Spanish Governor, Isidro de Castro, realized the numerical superiority of the rebels so he ordered his troops to stay on the defensive and not to venture out.³² The following day, the Governor was finally persuaded to negotiate by José Luzuriaga who acted as the mediator. The Act of Capitulation was signed on November 6, 1898. The next day, the Provisional Government was established with the following elected officials:³³

President	Aniceto Lacson
Delegate of War	Juan Araneta
Delegate of Finance	Eusebio Luzuriaga
Delegate of Government	Simon Lizares
Delegate of Development	Nicolas Golez
Delegate of Justice	Antonio Jayme
Delegate of Agriculture and Commerce	Agustin Amenabar
Secretary	Melecio Severino
Vice-Secretary	Fortunato Hugo
Military Chief	Rafael Ramos

Meanwhile, in Negros Oriental, Diego de la Viña led the revolutionary forces after receiving instructions from General Araneta. Starting his campaign from his place in Vallehermoso, he was joined by other forces until they got to Dumaguete and hoisted their flag there on November 24. The Spanish authorities had deserted the capital even before the forces of De la Viña, numbering some 10,000 strong, got there.³⁴ The day after the takeover, the following officials took office:³⁵

President	Demetrio Larena
Delegate of War	Diego de la Viña
Delegate of Finance	Laureano Flores
Delegate of Government	Hermenegildo Villanueva
Delegate of Development	Miguel Patero
Delegate of Justice	José de la Peña
Delegate of Agriculture and Commerce	Pedro Teves
Secretary	Francisco Leytoría
Vice-Secretary	Regino Apostol
Military Chief of the North	Luis Rotea
Military Chief of the South	Melitón Larena

The Negros revolution was not bloody. Varona compares it to a lively parade with wooden guns on a feast day.³⁶ What appeared as "Murata" guns were nothing but branches of nipa or coconut palms, uniformly cut, with knives stuck to their ends which from afar seemed like real bayonets. Some of the guns were damaged to the point that they posed a graver danger to the one shooting than to the one being shot at.³⁷ The Spaniards offered little or no resistance because of their meager and scattered forces.

Another interesting feature of the revolutionary movement in Negros is that it was led by the hacenderos and the *ilustrados* or the "enlightened ones" with the cooperation and support of the masses. In Negros the terms were synonymous inasmuch as the educated ones belonged to the elite or hacendero group. From the haciendas were recruited the men who made up the companies, battalions and regiments of the revolutionary army.³⁸ Each hacienda was a center where the bolos were made and where the wounded were attended to.

In the early stages of the campaign, "Aguinaldo chose to

cast his lot with the Visayan hacendero-ilustrado clique as a matter of political expediency, especially to prevent the creation of counterrevolutionary movements . . .”³⁹ He was also anxious to present a solid front before the foreign powers. As will be seen later when this group collaborated with the Americans, Aguinaldo turned to the mass-based movement of the Babaylans for support.

The revolutionary climate helped shape the political outlook of the Babaylanes. The revolutionary spirit had caught on and permeated the movement. They shared with the ilustrados a common goal to dislodge the Spaniards from the island. It is, however, difficult to ascertain the extent of Babaylan involvement in the ilustrado-led revolution. But the fact remains that they agitated against the colonial master and directly or indirectly helped in the overthrow of the Spanish regime in Negros.

The Negrense leaders proceeded to set up a provisional government after the capitulation of the Spaniards. The ones in Bacolod were faced with the problem of what to do with Isio. As Captain Bowers tells it, Isio was seen as a menace to the newly organized government.

The leaders decided to use a policy of attraction. He was invited to Bacolod, where he was wined and dined. He was received in and visited the homes of the best people. He drove in uniform with the governor of the province and dined with the president of the republic of Negros. He was received as a visiting potentate. On leaving Bacolod he carried with him a commission as military chief of La Castellana, relieving an educated half-caste, who in turn, was appointed to a subordinate position.⁴⁰

¹Worcester, *The Philippines*, p. 378.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 378-79.

3 Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippine Islands and Their People* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1899), p. 271.

4 Hart, "Buhawi," pp. 368, 375.

5 *Buhawi* means "waterspout." This was the nickname given him because of his alleged ability to make rain at will. Ibid., p. 378.

6 Ibid., p. 375; Ruiz, *Sinopsis*, p. 150.

7 PIR, SD 32, Doc. No. 970.5.

8 Worcester, *Philippine Islands*, pp. 269-73.

9 *Guardia Civil Reports, 1880-1897*, Expediente 60, ff. 391-92. NA.

10 *Eighth Annual Report*, Part II, p. 311.

11 "Sucesos," pp. 12-13.

12 Ibid., p. 20.

13 Ibid., p. 21.

14 It is a kind of bolo.

15 "Sucesos," pp. 4-5.

16 Ibid., pp. 40-41, 45-46. See also Ruiz, *Sinopsis*, pp. 164-65.

17 *Guardia Civil Reports, 1889-1898*, Expediente 149, ff. 553-54b. NA.

18 Ibid., p. 553; "Sucesos," p. 21.

19 *Annual Reports, 1902*, p. 405.

20 Manuel Sastrón, *La Insurrección en Filipinas y Guerra Hispano-americana en el Archipiélago, 1896-1899* (Madrid: Imprenta de la sucesor a de M. Minuesa de los Rios, 1901), pp. 522-24.

21 Teodoro M. Kalaw, *The Philippine Revolution* (General Emilio Aguinaldo centennial edition; [Mandaluyong] Jorge B. Vargas Filipiniana Foundation, 1969), pp. 129-30.

22 Ibid., pp. 130-35; "Actas del gobierno provisional de la Revolución," PIR, AN 45, Bk. C-6.

23 José Ner, "El Por que del Levantamiento de Negros Occidental," *La República Filipina*, November 18, 1898, p. 2.

24 "Sucesos," p. 3. According to Filemon Gemora, his grandfather hid German and American arms.

25 Ibid., pp. 6-10.

26 Romero, *Negros Occidental*, p. 80.

27 "Sucesos," p. 17.

28 Kalaw, *Philippine Revolution*, pp. 81-83.

29 Fuentes, *Apuntes documentados*, pp. 23-47, *passim*.

30 Varona, *Historia anecdótica*, p. 221.

31 Ner, "Levantamiento," p. 2.

32 Juan Araneta, "Rendición de Bacolod," *La Independencia*, December 28, 1898, pp. 1-2.

33 *PIR*, SD 13, Doc. No. 315.1.

34 "Historical Data of Negros Oriental," IV, pp. 10-12.

35 *PIR*, PR 58, Folder of Dauin, Negros Oriental.

36 Varona, *Historia anecdótica*, p. 162.

37 Fuentes, *Apuntes documentados*, p. 51.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

39 Jaime B. Veneracion, "The Philippine-American War: Visayan Phase, 1899-1902" (Unpublished Master's thesis, University of the Philippines, 1970), p. 79.

40 *Eighth Annual Report*, Part II, p. 311. The assertion that Isio was given a commission by the Negros government is corroborated by a list of instructions Juan Araneta sent to Isio on December 19, 1898. *NC*, XXV, 4141.

Chapter V

BABAYLANISM: EARLY AMERICAN PERIOD

Negros Collaboration

The provisional government of Negros Occidental held its first session on November 27, 1898. On this occasion, Delegate of War Araneta proposed the adoption of a cantonal¹ form of government to be known as the Federal Republic of Negros made up of the two provinces. The proposal was accepted as it was deemed the best suited for the island. Immediately the following day, communications were sent to the Malolos government, the President of the revolutionary government of Iloilo, as well as the Chief of the revolutionary army in Negros Oriental regarding the move taken in Bacolod.² The message was a disappointment to the Iloilo leaders for the plan of the Negrenses destroyed the one hatched by them, that of establishing a Federal government for all the Visayan Islands with the seat at Iloilo, another Federal government for Luzon and another for Mindanao.³

The move was not viewed with favor either by the Central government which was anxious to show to the foreign powers the solidarity of the Filipinos. This divisive action of the Negrenses was contrary to what Aguinaldo wanted. That the Negros leaders desired internal autonomy and only nominal control by Malolos is shown in the seven proposals that the Negros Committee submitted to Aguinaldo.⁴ Even the Federal Council of the Visayas was not to the liking of the Central government for it felt that this kind of set-up at such a crucial time was not opportune. The independent stance of these provinces prompted Mabini to warn Aguinaldo in January that they had to be very careful with Iloilo and Negros for their disintegration might come from there.⁵ Aguinaldo wanted the establishment of provincial councils under his control. On November 12, 1898

Juan Araneta was appointed by him Politico-Military Governor of Negros Occidental. He ordered the dissolution of the Federal Council on April 27, 1899 and appointed instead Martin Delgado as Politico-Military Governor of Iloilo.⁶

There were grounds for Mabini's fear because as early as November 12, just five days after the Negros provisional government was set up, a message from this government was presented to Captain Glass of the American cruiser *Charleston*, anchored in Iloilo, seeking protection. What prompted the Negros leaders to take such a drastic step without the knowledge of Malolos? The message provides the answer. It says:

Considering that in assuming the internal order of this territory we should also have the preparedness against the attack of Spain or other powerful strangers otherwise it would be tantamount to the destruction of all that we have gained in this fertile and rich soil, and because we are determined to repel vigorously any uncalled for aggression, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of this independent territory has agreed to place itself under the protectorate of the North American Republic so that it can immediately protect the lives and properties and all that constitute the collectivity of Negros Occidental which has been reconquered by force of our arms from Spanish domination, provided that it recognizes our independence and with the limitations to the said protectorate to be agreed upon eventually between ourselves and the said protectorate nation.⁷

Again on February 21, 1899, a Negros Commission composed of Aniceto Lacson, José Luzuriaga, Eusebio Luzuriaga and Andrés Azcona, sought an audience with General Otis in Manila, after having conferred with General Miller in Iloilo, about their desire to submit to American sovereignty and to ask for American protection as well as assistance in maintaining peace and order in the island.⁸ This time they feared, not the possible return of the Spaniards and the loss of their newly won freedom, but the reprisals of the Tagalogs and the *Babaylanes* who disapproved of their collaboration with the Americans.⁹ Several days before the Commission to Otis left the island, the American flag was already raised in Bacolod even though no American troops had landed yet. It became the first province

to recognize American sovereignty. It was an impulsive act prompted most probably by the fear that the island would suffer the fate that befell Iloilo which was taken by the Americans on February 11 after having been bombarded by General Miller's warships. Iloilo was razed to the ground not by the Americans but by the revolutionaries themselves who claimed they burned the city because they did not want to deliver it to the invaders in good condition but in ashes.¹⁰ To the Negros *ilustrados*, this was too high a price to pay for the "madness" of resistance. They could not afford to sacrifice needlessly so many lives and properties. To them it was futile to try to stem the American onslaught. The editorial of *La Libertad*, a Bacolod newspaper, on the day the American flag was hoisted in the capital, justified the Negros collaboration by stating that:

To insist on surmounting the obstacle is to go against her own destiny; to fling herself into a deep abyss, to condemn herself to an early death. When an evil cannot be avoided that evil has reason to become necessary. The practical outlook of things is an important factor indispensable in life. . . . To set up one's self in strength when weakness overpowers him is an imponderable madness.¹¹

They believed that eventually independence would be granted them by America which had been a colony once and, therefore, understood their longing for independence. Meanwhile, collaboration was the lesser evil and deemed by them the most sensible and practical way to deal with the situation.

In Negros Oriental, the leaders continued to adhere to Aguinaldo's government until they were finally convinced by Juan Araneta, who went to the oriental coast precisely for this purpose on April 9, that the course taken by the occidental side was the right one. Araneta explained the advantages and benefits that would accrue to them if they accepted American sovereignty. Eventually, they were won over by the arguments of Araneta. On April 30, 1899, the American flag waved for the first time atop the government building in Dumaguete.¹²

As a result of the agreement reached between Otis and the Negros Commission, Col. James F. Smith of the First California Volunteer Infantry left Manila for Bacolod on March 2 to command the subdistrict there as provided for in General Order

No. 8. The Visayan Military District was under the supervision of Brig. Gen. Marcus Miller in Iloilo. With Smith came the third battalion of his regiment commanded by Maj. H. Sime. Smith immediately proceeded to organize a battalion of 200 natives to help maintain peace and order in the island. Additional troops were sent to Negros when the anti-American forces became active and more battalions were needed to suppress them.¹³ The Californians were later replaced by the Sixth Infantry which conducted most of the campaigns against the Babaylanes in conjunction with the insular police forces. Smith was the right man for the job because he spoke Spanish to perfection, was a respected lawyer and a Catholic to boot. Before he came elections had already been held in both provinces for their respective Chamber of Deputies which would deliberate on matters affecting the towns. Under Smith's direction, the constitution of the cantonal government was drafted by a committee headed by José Luzuriaga. The influence of Smith was evident in the finished product. It insured American control in the island and perpetuated the rule of the elite. Article VI provided that only males over twenty-one years of age and who could read and write in any language or owned real property with the minimum value of one thousand pesos, could vote in elections.¹⁴

The Congress of Deputies attended by delegates from the two provinces approved the draft of the constitution on May 3, 1899 and by July it was sent to Washington. However, it was disapproved on the ground that it was too costly a government for the meager resources of the island. Instead, General Order No. 30 was issued based on the proposed constitution which provided for a military-civil government with the surpeme executive power vested in the military governor. He was aided by an elected civil governor and a Consultative Council whose functions were advisory in nature. James Smith became the first military governor, succeeded in 1900 by Col. E. W. Miner.¹⁵ In the first popular elections held on October 2, Melecio Severino emerged the winner. He later figured in an abortive plot against the government supposedly supported by the insurgents. However, no substantial evidence was gathered to convict him so he continued in office. But he lost favor in the eyes of the Americans and when civil government was established in 1901, he was replaced by a more acceptable candidate, José Luzuriaga.

The Babaylanes did not share the view of the ilustrados that collaboration was the solution to the problem. So there had to be a parting of the ways. From the time the Negros government accepted American rule, the Babaylanes became their avowed enemies. Depredations were committed not only in the occidental side but in the oriental coast as well. Thus in a circular dated April 12, 1899, interim president Hermenegildo Villanueva of Negros Oriental ordered the active pursuit of the Babaylanes since the government of the opposite coast had ordered their extermination. In another circular three months later, it was noted that the situation in the southern towns was abnormal due to the Babaylan raids.¹⁶

The Philippine-American War

Aguinaldo arrived in Cavite from his exile in Hongkong on May 19, 1898. Ten days later, Manila was blockaded by the US fleet on the bay and Aguinaldo's forces on land. His old comrades-in-arms flocked to his side. He proclaimed himself dictator on May 24 and about a month later established the revolutionary government with the avowed purpose of working for independence.¹⁷ On August 14, the Spaniards in Manila surrendered and Aguinaldo was slighted by the treatment he and his men received from the Americans. Joint occupation of Manila was not allowed by the latter. Many incidents aggravated the rift between the two forces in the uneasy alliance. The Treaty of Paris was signed on December 10, 1898 and the Philippines was ceded by Spain to the United States for twenty million dollars without taking into consideration the wishes of the Filipinos. Eleven days later, Pres. William McKinley's "Benevolent Assimilation" Proclamation added fuel to the fire. The blockade of Iloilo by the Americans was viewed with alarm by the Filipino leaders. The rift widened and the rupture came on February 4, 1899. Aguinaldo's forces were gradually driven to the hills and on November 13 guerrilla warfare was declared.

A. Guerrilla Phase

One pamphlet shows how guerrilla warfare was supposed to be conducted by the Filipinos:

The purpose of the guerrilla will be to constantly worry the Yankees in the pueblos occupied by them, to cut off their patrols, their spies and their scouts, to surprise their detachments, to crush their columns if they should pass favorable places and to exterminate all traitors, to prevent natives to [sic] vilely sell themselves for the invader's gold.

The guerrillas shall make up for their small numbers by their ceaseless activity and their daring. They shall hide in the woods and distant barrios and when least expected shall fall upon their enemy . . . but they shall be careful to never rob their countrymen.¹⁸

Aguinaldo tried to tap mass support and to enlist the services of as many people as possible, pardoning bandits and traitors if they would join him as soldiers.¹⁹ By this time, many had collaborated with the enemy serving as local officials in the municipal governments established or as guides and spies. Some were recruited as native scouts. Some, however, retained their loyalty to the revolutionary cause and thus played dual roles. As pointed out by Taylor:

. . . in many cases the town officials openly served the Americans while they secretly aided the insurrection, . . . not only in the sense of furnishing supplies to the guerrilla bands, but also as affording their members secure places of refuge.²⁰

General Malvar later ordered that forces could be organized by anyone who could muster enough men and rifles. He charged the Military Administrator of every town to collect ten percent of the rice harvested for the support of the troops. Parish priests were asked to turn in a monthly contribution of three pesos for every one thousand souls in their parishes. Finally, he ordered that towns which were pro-American be razed to the ground and the guilty inhabitants punished.²¹

Guerrilla warfare was fought savagely. In the Visayas, orders emanating from the guerrilla leaders in 1900 and 1901 were similar with regards to the punishment to be inflicted on pro-Americans. Towns were burned, persons executed and properties confiscated.²² Juan Carballo, a *mestizo español* and former councilor for Negros Oriental in the Federal Council of the

Visayas, was killed and beheaded in his *hacienda* in Cadiz Nuevo on September 7, 1899 because he was accused of being pro-American and a spy.²³ "*Dukut*" or the system of sequestration was sanctioned by Aguinaldo and was prevalent in the Visayas. The secret avengers were empowered to execute traitors.²⁴ The Americans countered such tactics with their own brand of barbaric practices like the "water cure" and the "rope cure."²⁵

Otis was mistaken when he announced that the insurrection was practically over because the insurgent army had been dispersed. The hardest job of the American forces was yet ahead. "The Americans were not fighting a uniformed army. They were fighting determined groups of men who tilled the fields by day and stalked outposts by night."²⁶ This type of situation called for more garrisons and troops.

On November 1, 1899, the American army occupied 53 garrisons and was composed of about 40,000 officers and men; on September 1, 1900, there were 413 garrisons, with some 61,000 officers and men. In March 1901, the number of garrisons reached 502, and the strength of the army was 70,000 officers and men.

As regards the engagements, from the beginning of the war to the latter part of November 1899, they averaged 44 a month, while for the period from December 1, 1899 to June 30, 1900, the average was 106 a month.²⁷

B. *Revival of the Katipunan*

On August 15, 1900 Aguinaldo issued a directive that the reorganization of the Katipunan was necessary for the defense of the country. He, therefore, urged that the society be reorganized in the different towns.

According to the scheme of government by the *Katipunan* in every town there was to be a group holding positions which duplicated those of the visible government whether it was one established by agents of the United States or by agents of Aguinaldo. . . . The real government was to be the government in the shadow composed of a small group which in all ways controlled the actions of the other members.²⁸

A confidential memorandum from the Commanding Gen-

eral of the Visayas was circulated on October 24 urging the revival of the Katipunan no doubt based on Aguinaldo's order.²⁹ In Negros, one document of Isio bore the heading "Catipunan" as early as July 21, 1900.³⁰ He also administered the Katipunan oath which runs this way:

I, Catalino Orencio, 22 years old, single, resident of this sitio, obey the seven commandments of the Holy Religion, respect the sacred cross and swear before the Philippine flag that dead or alive, I will dedicate my life to the sacred country and while Dionisio Papa is alive, serve him to the end of my life.³¹

Isio's men also wore uniforms with insurgent and Katipunan insignia as reported by Captain Kennon in the encounters between the Babaylanes and the Constabulary at Haguimit and La Castellana on September 6, 1901.³²

C. *End of the War*

After November 1900, there was a gradual cessation of activities by the insurgents. Sexton advances four probable reasons for this development:³³

1. the adoption of sterner repressive measures by the Americans
2. the result of the presidential election of 1900 in the United States
3. the formation of the Filipino Federalist Party
4. the capture of Aguinaldo

The Amnesty Proclamation of General MacArthur, who succeeded Otis, probably helped also in the winning over of some insurgents. An added incentive was the payment of thirty pesos for every rifle handed in.³⁴

The defeat of William Jennings Bryan by McKinley in the presidential election of 1900 was a big blow to the revolutionaries' hope of independence. They believed that if Bryan won early independence would be achieved. He was a Democrat whereas McKinley, a Republican, was for the retention of the islands by the United States. In a letter that Isio wrote to Oyos on March 4, 1901 he stated:

I have received from Luzon an order to proceed more rapidly with my operations this month, as Bryan ordered Emilio to keep the war going vigorously until April, and he also said that if independence was not given the Philippines by that time, he, Bryan, and his followers would rise in arms against the aggressors.³⁵

The presidential election was over by this time and whether Bryan sent this order to Aguinaldo is doubtful. But the year before, Aguinaldo wrote his men saying:

The presidential election which is being held at present in North America seems a ray of hope for the cessation of this war; inasmuch as Mr. Bryan promises to recognize the independence of the Philippines, provided he is elected President of the North American Republic, which encourages us greatly, . . .³⁶

The capture of Aguinaldo by Colonel Funston at Palanan, Isabela, on March 23, 1901, was indeed a tremendous blow to the revolutionary cause. This was aggravated by the surrender of General Trias the following month. In a letter to Gen. Miguel Malvar, Apacible in Hongkong implored him not to be deceived by the agents of the enemy as the others have been, but to continue fighting. He dismissed the program of the pro-American Federal Party of aspiring to be a state of the US as pure fantasy.³⁷ However, the movement was losing momentum. The mounting pressures put on the recalcitrant revolutionaries caused their capture or surrender. Aguinaldo's address to the Filipino people enjoining them to lay down their arms and surrender peacefully to the Americans was published on April 19, 1901. Delgado of Iloilo surrendered on January 11, 1901; Mojica of Leyte in May; Maxilom of Cebu in October. Diocno of Capiz was wounded and captured in March. In February the following year, Lukban was finally captured in Samar.³⁸ With the surrender of Malvar on April 16, 1902, the armed conflict was officially terminated. He issued a proclamation ending the hostilities. On July 4, the Amnesty Proclamation was issued by President Roosevelt. However, this was not really the end of all conflicts for pocket resistance, which dragged on for a number of years, was still offered by some groups

such as the one headed by Dionisio Papa.

The Babaylanes in the Resistance Movement Against the Americans

When the ilustrado leaders went over to the American side, Isio became the chief revolutionary leader in Negros, recognized as such by the Central government in Luzon and the Federal Council of Iloilo. He was soon joined in his active resistance against the Americans and the Negros government by agents from Luzon as well as expeditionary forces from Panay.

A. Relations with the Central Government

As soon as the Malolos government heard that the Negros leaders had submitted to the conditions imposed by the Americans, Aguinaldo immediately decided to intervene stating that:

. . . this National Government cannot approve the conduct observed by the Cantonal Government as the latter has acted without its knowledge and consent and without considering the wishes [of] the citizens of the Island;

And whereas, the Island has been abandoned by the Cantonal Government and left in the hands of foreigners, it becomes the duty of this Government to look to the safety and independence of the same and the liberty of the inhabitants.³⁹

Aguinaldo commissioned Zoilo Mauricio on March 23, 1899 "to organize another government, to direct and establish the necessary defense in order to prevent the total occupation of the Island, and, if possible, drive the enemy forces from the same, . . ." ⁴⁰ Before proceeding to Negros, Mauricio paid a courtesy call on the Federal Council of Iloilo on June 2, putting himself under the orders of this government. A communication was then prepared addressed to Dionisio Papa directing him to cooperate with Mauricio.⁴¹ The latter succeeded in getting into Negros and contacting Isio for on December 20, he wrote from Palali, Isabela, which is one of Isio's headquarters, to Juan Araneta asking him to return to the revolutionary fold according to Aguinaldo's instructions. By this time, Araneta was

already the Secretary of Agriculture under the American government in Negros. He did not heed the appeal of Mauricio and instead informed the American authorities about it. He even reported to Governor Smith that Geminiano Montinola, a prominent *hacendero*, was the one responsible for the safe delivery of Mauricio's letter.⁴²

The Malolos commissioner was also in contact with some emissaries of the Hongkong Junta operating in Negros. These were Candido Montilla, Mariano Villanueva and Pedro Yunki or Yungue. The latter's name appeared in the plantilla of Isio's group.⁴³ Both Candido and Pedro "were relatives of Juana Montilla, a member of the prominent and wealthy Montilla clan of Negros who . . . appears to have favored . . . the 'inner circle' in Hongkong that believed in fighting for Philippine independence."⁴⁴ Another member of the Montilla family who was anti-American was Remigio Montilla, a wealthy *hacendero* of Isabela who was captured by an American platoon in La Castellana. He was being brought to Isabela for questioning when, on the way, he was shot dead by his captors.⁴⁵ According to one informant, he was killed because the Americans suspected him of engaging in subversive activities and being a sympathizer of Isio.⁴⁶ This goes to show that not all *hacenderos* were *Americanistas*. Rosario Lopez, for example, daughter of the prominent Eugenio Lopez of Jaro, was expelled from Negros by Smith because of her revolutionary ideas and activities. She donated arms to the insurgents while the other Lopez children in Negros, Eusebio and Maria, sent 600 cavans of rice to Iloilo as a war loan.⁴⁷

A conspiracy was hatched by the Hongkong emissaries and Mauricio with the aid of the Panay rebels for an uprising in the second week of December but the authorities got wind of it. However, Benito Sanchez, another insurgent in the employ of Isio who was also the head of the Valladolid Junta of the revolutionaries, decided to strike on December 6, attacking a small American detachment in La Carlota. The leader of the group, Lieutenant Ledyard, and one native scout were killed. On Sanchez's side, ten died and thirty were wounded. Two days later, Mauricio's party attacked another detachment at San Enrique but again they failed to completely rout the enemy.⁴⁸

Isio went on with his activities in the south and remained loyal to the Central government. On March 2, 1899 he forwarded to Aguinaldo the plantilla of the military administration

of Negros naming himself as Captain General, Rufo Oyos as Lieutenant General and Felipe Guillermo as Brigadier General and at the same time Delegate of War.⁴⁹ Probably no response was received by Isio from Malolos because of the difficulty in communicating with Luzon. Isio earlier complained that his letter couriers were often captured and imprisoned by the enemy. He, therefore, sent another copy of his *plantilla* to Arcadio Maxilom of Cebu together with his *Diario de Operaciones de Negros* against the Americans.⁵⁰ It appeared that from March 27, 1899 to July 15, 1900 there were 29 encounters resulting in the death of about 800 Americans and native scouts and only more than 30 from Isio's ill-equipped group. That this was an exaggerated report is easily discerned by the highly improbable number of Americans killed. It is quite unbelievable that in all the engagements, Isio's casualties were always less than those of the Americans. In fact it appeared that in 16 encounters, Isio lost not a soul! One can see that he wanted to impress Aguinaldo and the other leaders with his exploits so his *plantilla* would be approved. On November 19, 1900 Maxilom sent the *plantilla* and the diary of operations to Aguinaldo urging him to approve the former for he felt it was for the good of the country. Maxilom further informed Aguinaldo that he had provisionally approved same with some modifications while waiting for the go-signal from Malolos. He also stated that he sent to Negros his Adjudante mayor, Gervacio Ledesma, in order to organize the troops there.⁵¹ Because of these connections, Isio assured his officers that their authority was not a joke for their titles and appointments all came from Luzon.

B. *Relations with Panay*

Because of its proximity to Panay, Negros Occidental had always been in close contact with the former. Political, economic, social and cultural ties strengthened the bond that existed between these two islands. Ever since the agitation against Spain began, Negros Occidental had looked up to Panay for direction. The acceptance of American presence by the Negrense elite was, therefore, a great disappointment to the Panay revolutionaries. On May 3, 1899 in the session in Kabatuan, Iloilo, a communication was prepared to be sent to Dionisio Papa addressing him as chief of the revolutionary forces in Negros and instructing him to maintain his attitude of armed

protest. He was also told to put himself in contact with the revolutionary committees of the north and south of the island.⁵² In July expeditionary forces from Panay were sent to Negros. Roque Lopez directed them to attack the enemy headquarters at Silay and Manapla and then regroup at the barrio of Tanza. From there they were to join the forces of Dionisio Papa and put up a new government.⁵³ The expedition was led by the young Lieutenant Colonel Luis Ginete of Jaro. This was not the first time he worked with the rebel groups in Negros, as may be deduced from the communication the Federal Council sent him on June 2, the day Mauricio presented himself to the council. Ginete was directed to withdraw his force from Negros and attach them to the General Headquarters in Santa Barbara, Iloilo.⁵⁴

The Panay group selected Guintabuan as their stronghold because it was situated in an almost inaccessible place in Saravia municipality. The group was augmented by the Silay and Talisay policemen who had earlier deserted with their arms and were said to have joined the Babaylanes.⁵⁵ The latter were supposedly assured by the Panay rebels that there would be a division of property of the people in power once the existing regime was overthrown.⁵⁶ Ginete received material aid and support from some Negros sympathizers who were planters and merchants like Juan Ledesma, Fausto Javelona, Sr., Za-tan and others. Some like J. A. Retana even furnished the Guintabuan rebels with information regarding the movements of enemy troops.⁵⁷

In the August 19 assault of the Americans in Guintabuan the rebels lost 17 dead, including Ignacio Joaquín, Captain of the Third Company, and Elias Magbanua, First Lieutenant of the First Company and brother of the famous Gen. Pascual Magbanua of Iloilo.⁵⁸ This was quite a severe blow that staggered the rebel camp. The loss was keenly felt but they were not easily routed. In September, the killing of Juan Carballo was carried out by Anacleto Santillana of the Guintabuan group. On October 13, another fight took place near Victorias. The rebels numbered about 2,000 as against 50 on the American side. With their superior arms the latter emerged victorious. After October, the Guintabuan front had evidently collapsed. But Isio was not easily daunted by the defeat of his allies. He continued his operations in the south. In September 1900 he

gave another copy of his plantilla to Leandro Fullón in Antique and sought his help. As a result, Cayo Santos was dispatched to Negros to help organize Isio's forces. No arms, however, could be spared by Fullón.⁵⁹ From these developments, it appears that Cebu and Panay emissaries as well as those from Malolos and the Hongkong Committee helped to foment trouble for the Americans in Negros in conjunction with the Babaylanes.

C. *The Babaylanes as Insurgents*

Available records show that by this time the Babaylanes considered themselves insurgents and were treated as such by other revolutionaries. Some informants attested to the fact that they were indeed *insurrectos* or *revolucionarios* although others pointed out that they plundered and terrorized the people.⁶⁰ This was especially true with the ones suspected of being Americanistas. That the Babaylanes were guilty of many outrages cannot be denied. Even Isio, it seems, had his lapses. He and his men were not averse to kidnapping women or taking them as hostages and making them their concubines.⁶¹ They also seized properties, burned haciendas and executed people. But these tactics were no different from the ones employed by the other insurgent leaders. Destruction was the order of the day, by fair or foul means. It seems that Isio and his men viewed these raids and depredations as legitimate means to strike at their enemies. Isio, however, tried to temper this terroristic orgy by ordering his officers

. . . to abide by the orders coming from Luzon when some persons have committed a crime. . . . You should not leave them to carry out resentments and vengeance, for we do not castigate or punish the innocent. If the crime is clearly proved, then you can dictate the sentence to the offender.⁶²

He warned them against the taking of the seized properties for their own use and also admonished them not to plunder indiscriminately.⁶³ It must be pointed out that many depredations were probably committed in the name of the Babaylanes by real robber bands. Frank Bourns testified thus:

Sometimes attacks would be made on plantations, the

men disguising themselves as *Babaylanes*, when in reality they did not belong to the sect at all, but simply took this way of robbing and throwing the blame upon the religious fanatics.⁶⁴

Like the other insurgent chiefs, Isio collected taxes through the local *presidentes* as well as contributions from haciendas based roughly on the value of the estates.⁶⁵ But he did not always use force in obtaining what he wanted. On August 3, 1900 he wrote to José de la Viña in La Castellana saying:

This brothers of yours, who is in the mountains at the forefront of the revolutionary troops in order to fight the Americans, will molest you. If it is possible, please obtain and lend me ten sacks of rice for the maintenance and supply of our soldiers.⁶⁶

Under him were several "generals," each with his own following. Foremost among them was Rufo Oyos, the general in Sipalay. He was described as tall, slender, fair-skinned with *mestizo* features and in his late twenties. He was active in the southernmost part of Negros Occidental and even encroached on the nearby towns of the oriental side. He raided Bayawan several times.⁶⁷ He went as far as Siaton to punish the Americanistas there.⁶⁸ Sometime in 1900 he got married and two years later, he was persuaded to surrender. According to Captain Kennon, he was already tired of being an outlaw and wished to settle down in Sipalay under American protection.⁶⁹ Several documents in his possession were later forwarded to Kennon, probably upon the request of the latter. This explains why there are many letters of Isio to Oyos in the Philippine Insurgent Records.

By 1902, Isio also had under his wing such subordinate chiefs as Juan Mayo and Marcelo Tuyó, both natives of Antique; Eugenio Tolatola of Himamaylan and a former member of the *Guardia Civil*; and Eugenio Alcachufas of Cebu.⁷⁰ On the northern part of Negros roamed Dalmacio, called the *Negrito* because his mother was one. He raided the towns of Sagay and Escalante. Captian White noted that "in the Babaylan hierarchy, he ranked next to Papa Isio; but his was a separate command . . ."⁷¹ A cholera epidemic in 1902 was blamed by

him on the Americans whom he accused of poisoning the wells.⁷² He made sudden nocturnal attacks on Constabulary outposts. Later he and Isio joined forces and threatened to attack Murcia. However, Dalmacio was captured on October 30, 1903 by a Constabulary posse led by Captain White. He died in Bilibid Prison before the death sentence imposed on him could be carried out.⁷³

Isio remained undaunted even with the determined efforts of the Americans to crush his movement. After the capture of Aguinaldo, the Babaylanes continued to support the revolutionary government now headed by Malvar. On May 14, 1901 commissions in the insurgent army were issued by Malvar to Isio and his followers. Isio was given the rank of Colonel of Infantry while Rufo was made Lieutenant Colonel of Infantry. The others were commissioned Commandants, Captains, First Lieutenants and Second Lieutenants.⁷⁴

With Malvar's surrender in 1902, the armed resistance was considered ended by the Americans. But the Babaylanes persisted in their hostile attitude towards the latter. Thus, they were branded as bandits and *ladrones*. In November, a Bando-lerismo Statute was enacted to effectively prosecute these outlaws.⁷⁵

D. *Campaigns Against the Babaylanes*

A felt need for a native insular police force largely officered by Americans led to the creation of the Philippine Scouts by the US Army in February 1901. However, civil government was established in April and the Civil Governor wanted an armed force under his direct supervision since the Scouts were controlled by the Army. At this time, there was much friction between the military and civil officials.⁷⁶ The former probably resented the transfer of power to the civil branch. So on July 18, 1901 Act 175 of the Philippine Commission created the Philippine Constabulary. The law was drawn up by Luke E. Wright, then Secretary of Commerce and Police. It began its operations on August 8 with Henry T. Allen of the US Cavalry as the first Chief of Constabulary.⁷⁷ While the Scouts formed part of the regular US Army and received support from the Federal Government, the Constabulary was maintained by insular revenues. The former were, therefore, better paid, better equipped and armed. Both were established for the purpose of

Strength and Stations Occupied by Philippine Constabulary
in Negros Occidental as of July 31, 1902

	<i>Inspectors</i>	<i>Enlisted Men</i>
Bacolod	4	42
Guimbalaon	0	10
Murcia	0	16
Paguim	0	12
La Castellana	1	24
Magallon	0	12
Isabela	0	28
Payao	1	10
Himamaylan	0	9
Isio	0	12
Sipalay	0	22
Victorias	0	7
Manapla	0	16
Sagay	0	10
Escalante	0	11
San Carlos	0	12
Sick	1	0
Absent	1	0
Total	8	253

Source: U.S., War Department, Bureau of Insular Affairs, *Third Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1902*, Part I (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), p. 217.

**Strength and Stations Occupied by Philippine Constabulary
in Negros Oriental as of July 31, 1902**

	<i>Inspectors</i>	<i>Enlisted Men</i>
Dumaguete	2	48
Bayun [Bayawan]	1	20
Zamboanguita	1	15
Valle [Hermoso]	1	20
Tayasan	0	20
Absent in Bohol	1	40
Absent in Cebu	1	0
Total	7	163

Source: *Third Annual Report*, Part I, p. 218.

**Distribution of US Troops in Negros Occidental
as of October 1901**

	<i>US Troops</i>	<i>Filipino Scouts</i>
Valladolid	43	
La Carlota	12	
La Granja	15	
La Castellana	22	
Isabela	12	
Kabancalan		27
Isio		23
Total	104	50

Source: Report of Captain Kennon in NC, XXXI, 4915.

suppressing armed disturbances. This how Captain White describes the organizational setup of the force:

The Constabulary was organized by provinces; a senior inspector commanded in each province from 50 to 300 men with the corresponding number of officers. Within his province the senior inspector controlled the police and campaign work under the supervision of a district chief. There were five districts, each commanded by an assistant chief with the rank of colonel and within his district the assistant chief had the authority vested in the Chief of Constabulary to see that brigandage, unlawful assemblies, and breaches of the peace were suppressed and law and order maintained.⁷⁸

The Babaylanes under Isio were the major troublemakers that confronted the Philippine Scouts and Constabulary in Negros. The band roamed in the mountainous south-central part of the island, especially on the slopes of Canlaon Volcano. They occasionally swooped down and attacked haciendas, towns and barrios as well as American detachments. Because they camped in inaccessible places, the Americans and their native auxiliaries had a hard time tracking them down. The difficulties encountered by them in their pursuit of the Babaylanes are vividly described in the following excerpts of an article about the expedition commanded by Capt. B. A. Byrne of the Sixth Infantry on July 19, 1899 to Bobong, a barrio near La Carlota:

Native guides were employed to point out the road, but from the outskirts of the town the road disappeared into the ricefields . . . Newly plowed and flooded were the ricefields and so dark was the night one portion of the column would frequently lose the way, spending a half hour or more wandering about in a blind search for the main body. The mud and the slush was from ankle to waist deep, and the odor which arose from it was foul. Often the men weighed down with their equipments, stumbled and covered their hands with the black, sticking slime that raised an itch where it partially dried. Then mosquitoes and gnats fed on their exposed faces and necks, and in fighting the pests away they stroked these parts with the stinging mud. To add to their discomfort a cold wind blew up a colder and

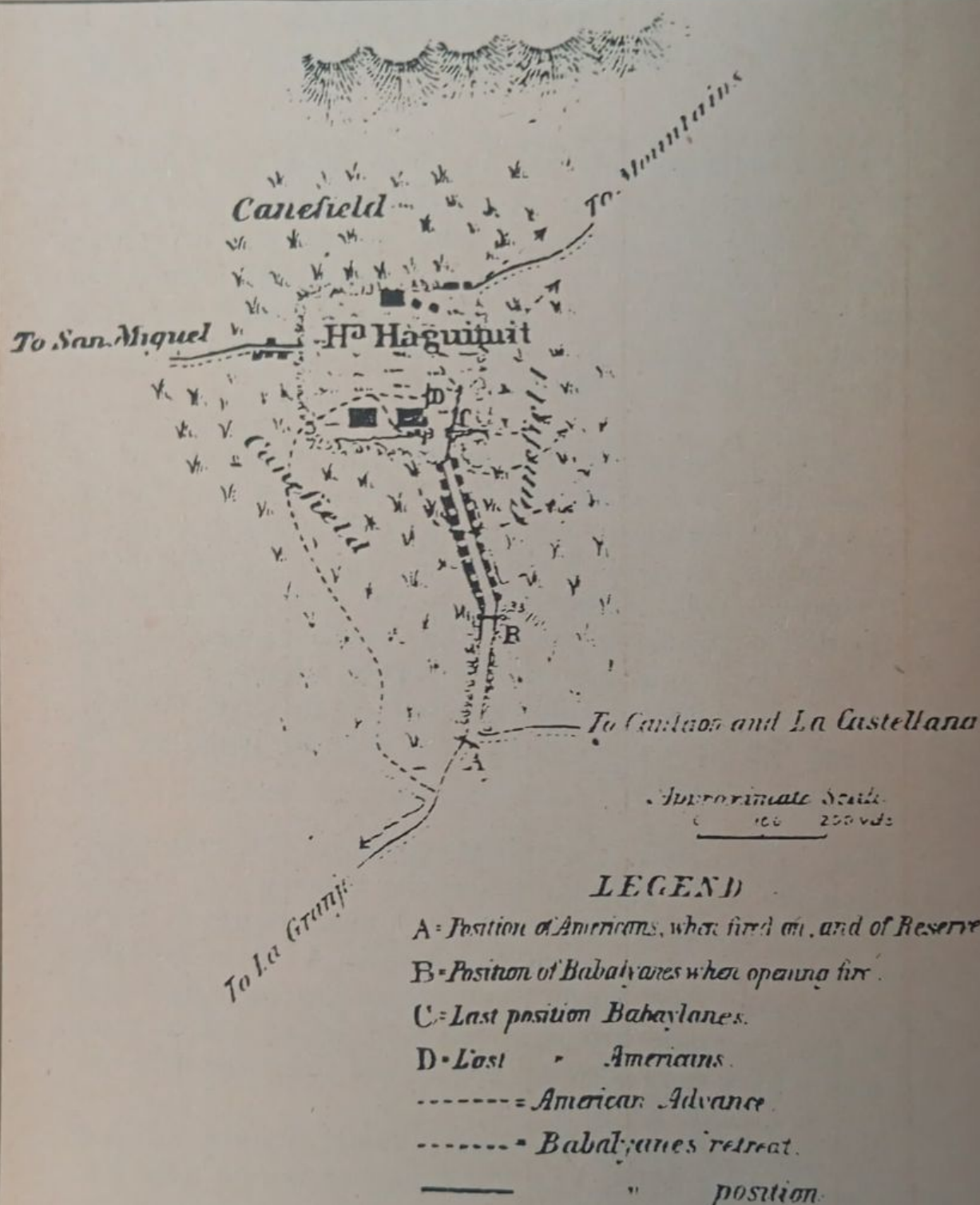
more chilling rain. The rivers rose and rose until often, in fording them, the water was up to the armpits of the soldiers.⁷⁹

In this campaign, only one American soldier was killed and another wounded while 115 of the 450 Babaylanes were killed. The Americans also recovered stolen animals and household goods. They destroyed the stored provisions and burned the place. Still the raids of Isio and his followers continued. In a report to the Adjutant in Bacolod, Captain Kennon describes the concerted attacks of the Babaylanes:

Early in September, Isio notified the presidentes of La Castellana, La Carlota, and San Enrique that they had incurred his displeasure and that he would attack their towns. Accordingly at about 2 a.m. on September 6 a band under Francisco Abilo, Anselmo Cinco, and Siriaco attacked the quarters of the native scouts in La Castellana; another under "Tano" took possession of San Miguel, a barrio of La Carlota, and another portion attacked the hacienda Canlaon. It was this latter party which fired upon my party near the hacienda Haguimit.⁸⁰

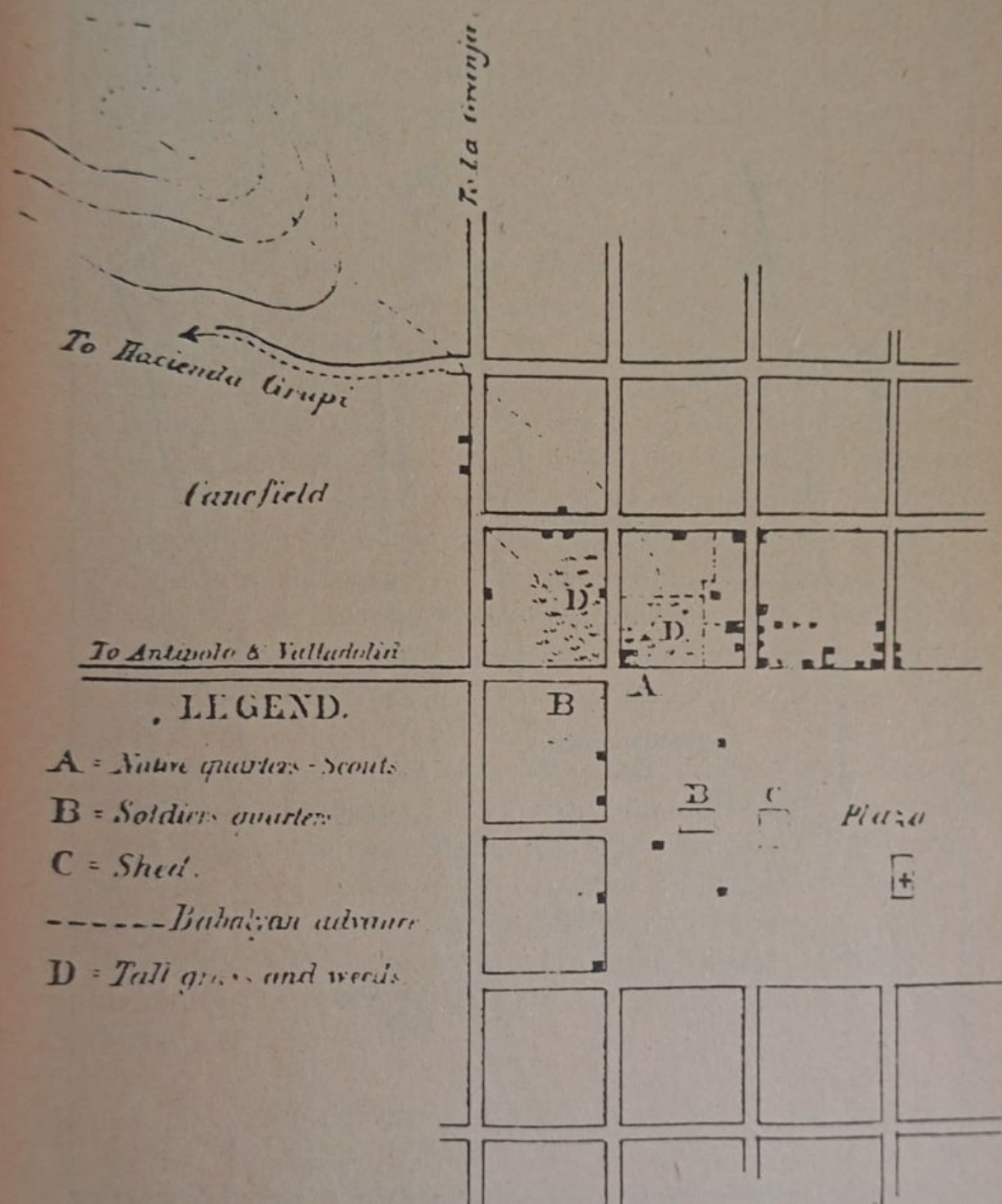
Early in May 1902, a combined expedition of the Constabulary and the Sixth Infantry under the command of Captain White was undertaken to assault Isio's headquarters at Macabong, about three days march from Isabela. A former Babaylan was their guide. They finally came upon a clearing in the forest where they surprised several armed men, killing one of them and capturing a seven-year-old boy named Celedonio who was adopted by Captain White.⁸¹

Not long afterwards, the Sixth Infantry was recalled and sent back to the States and the Philippine Scouts were also withdrawn from La Castellana. Captain White now assumed the responsibility of maintaining law and order in southern Negros. Originally stationed in Himamaylan, he moved to Isabela with his detachment composed of 25 men to be nearer the lair of Isio. On May 26, he again undertook a campaign against Isio, this time at the latter's *cuartel general* in Mansalanao, a fortified camp at the highest peak south of Canlaon. With him were 17 soldiers, the old Babaylan guide and 14 *cargadores* or baggage



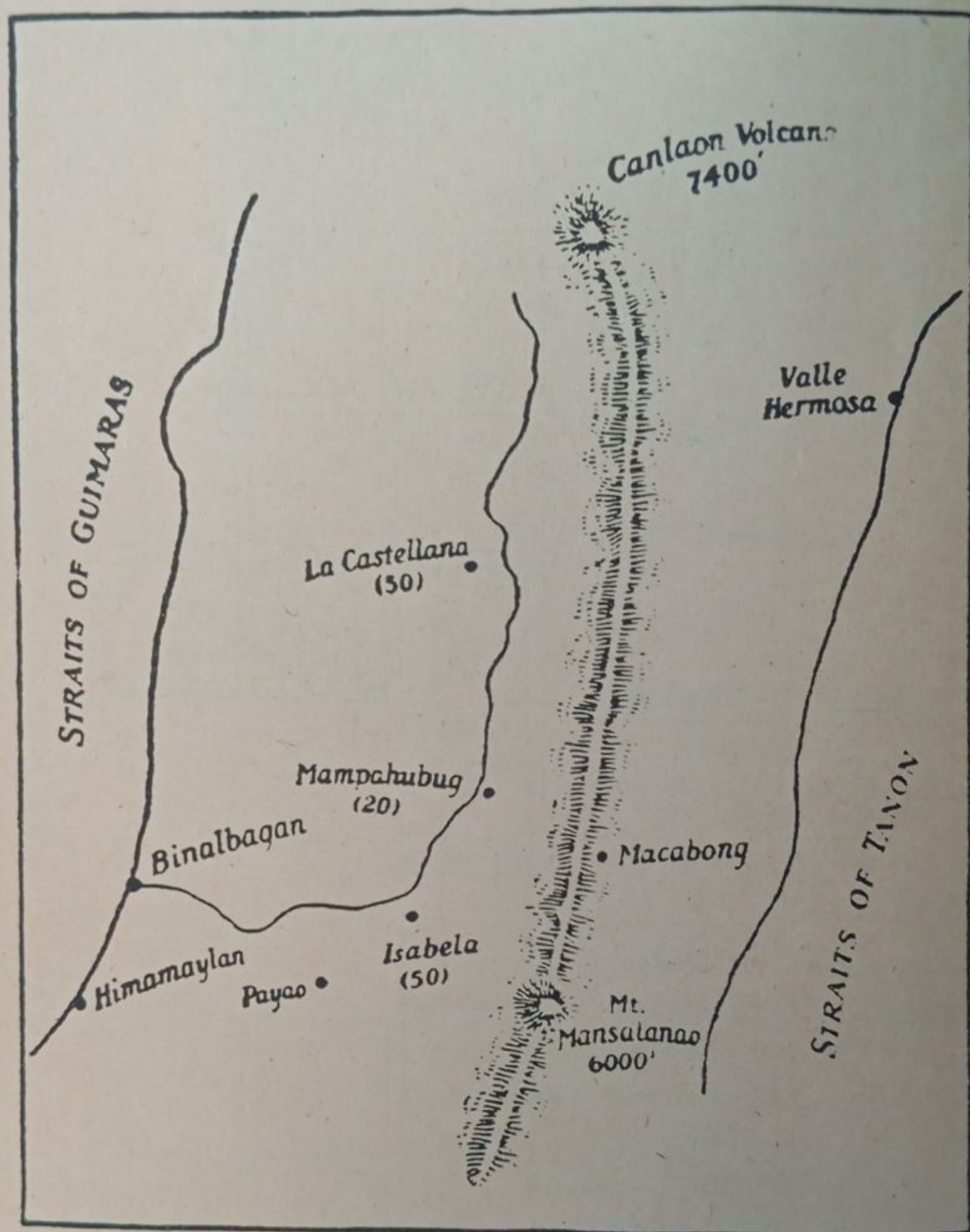
*Sketch of Hacienda Haguimit to illus.
late Affair of September 6th 1901*

J. S. [Signature]
Captain 6th Infy.



Sketch of Portion of La Castellana
Showing Line of Advance and Attack of Bab-
ayans on Native Scouts, September 6, 1901.

J. H. Wilson
Captain 6th Infy.



Sketch of the portion of southern Negros Occidental affected most by Babaylan raids and showing the number of Constabulary men assigned there. Source: White, *Bullets*, p. 50. Figures in brackets given by Col. Lyman V. Kennon, Sixth U.S. Infantry, as number of Constabulary to control southern Negros and stop babaylan raids.

carriers. It meant another three-day trek through the jungle. Innumerable obstacles on the way to this fortress in the clouds were described by the Bukidnon friends of the guide. These mountain people lived near Isio's camp. According to them:

. . . the approach was straight up to the trenches, . . . all timber and brush had been cleared away to give open fire from above; indeed, it was so steep that ladders of *bejuco* [rattan] were let down from the trenches to the trail beneath. Moreover, within the fortifications were piles of stones and sharpened hardwood, double pointed throwing spears called *planquetas*, all ready to throw down on an attacking force. Also there were huge rocks as much as twelve men could move, poised on the parapet wall and held by ropes of rattan so that the slash of a bolo would send the boulders crashing down the mountain; . . . there was only one trail up Mansalanao, and that one was narrow and sown with man-traps—*suyacs* (sharp pointed stakes) underfoot and *balatics* (spring traps) in the brush.⁸²

Even with this impressive array of fortifications, White's party succeeded in the ascent and caught the Babaylanes off-guard. One of the important chiefs, Aguacil-cito, was killed and the "Pope" was wounded. However, he still managed to escape the dragnet. But this attack crippled the movement. The weakening of Isio's hold was reflected in the gradual decrease of his forays into the lowlands. In 1904, the district chief of the Constabulary reported that:

The famous Papa Isio, after more than a year in seclusion, sent a band of men to one of the outlying haciendas on the 14th of March, and taking the hacenderos [sic] by surprise captured two rifles and a Mauser pistol from them and returned to the mountains taking two hostages.

. . . This is the only depredation that he has committed in more than a year and a half.⁸³

On February 12, 1907, the Babaylanes struck again, this time in Suay and Kabancalan, setting fire to houses, schools, warehouses and even shops.⁸⁴ But this was the end of the road for them. The collapse of the movement was at hand.

Capt. John R. White with Celedonio, the Babaylan boy captured by the Constabulary.
Source: White, *Bullets*, p. 78.



E. Surrender of Papa Isio

Harassed by the incessant campaigns of the American forces with the help of the native scouts, Isio's movement lost momentum. But he remained as elusive as ever. In 1905 he was reported killed in Guihulngan by Lieutenant Mohler of the Constabulary but this turned out to be a false report.⁸⁵ Isio was still very much alive and had by now encroached on the opposite coast. He was believed to be threatening to overrun the towns of northern Negros Oriental since these were near his hideout on the slopes of Canlaon.

Negotiations for his surrender had long been underway. As early as January 17, 1902, Maxilom, who had by this time gone over to the American side, wrote Isio and Rufo urging them to give themselves up to the authorities. He assured Isio that the Americans would pay for his rifles and revolvers at thirty and twenty pesos each, respectively. He was even promised that if he wanted to keep his revolver for his personal use he could do so.⁸⁶

Many mediators were employed by the American authorities to convince Isio of the futility of his fight and to persuade him to lay down his arms. The Governor of Negros Oriental tried, so did Herman Grupi, a prominent hacendero of La Castellana, and even Juan Araneta.⁸⁷ Finally, he was induced to surrender by a strategy hatched by Capt. George Bowers, White's successor, Gil Montilla, *presidente municipal* of Isabela, and Cenon Rosado, Chief of Police in the same town.⁸⁸ He was supposedly promised a position in the government and on the same day he came down from the mountains, a musical band accompanied him and a big feast was prepared for him and his followers in Isabela.⁸⁹ Together with some of his men, Isio gave himself up to Captain Bowers on August 6, 1907 in a place in Isabela called Mangahoykahoy.⁹⁰ Two oldtimers of Guihulngan recall that they saw Papa Isio in their town plaza because the Americans "toured" him around after his surrender,⁹¹ probably to let the people know that at long last the famous bandit had been captured. He was later tried and sentenced to death. He was brought to Manila and imprisoned in Bilibid. His sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment by James Smith who was by now the Governor of the Islands. Isio was already in his late sixties when he surrendered. He died in Bilibid in 1911.⁹² Four of his followers were later condemned to die by the Court

of First Instance of Bacolod; another four were given life terms; two were sentenced to thirty years imprisonment; five to twenty-five years imprisonment; and another five to twenty years imprisonment.⁹³

¹Based on the Swiss model where each canton has its own legislative, executive and judicial branches. Romero, *Negros Occidental*, p. 104; *PIR*, SD 3, Doc. No. 77.3.

²NC, XXV, 4164; John R. M. Taylor, *The Philippine Insurrection Against the United States* (5 vols.; Pasay City: Eugenio Lopez Foundation, 1971), V, p. 622.

³Fuentes, *Apuntes documentados*, p. 142.

⁴For the text, see NC, XXV, 4189.

⁵Alfredo S. Veloso, *Testament and Political Letters of Apolinario Mabini* (Quezon City: Asvel Publishing Company, 1964), p. 130.

⁶*PIR*, AN 45, Bks. C-7, pp. 1-4.

⁷Fuentes, *Apuntes documentados*, pp. 128-29.

⁸*Report of Philippine Commission, 1900*, Part II, p. 356.

⁹The Philippine Commission reported that the Negros delegation asked for a battalion of troops to hold in check the *Babaylanes*. *Ibid.*, Part I, p. 731.

¹⁰NC, XIII, 2153-155; XXV, 4201.

¹¹Francisco Varona, *Negros: Its History and People*, trans. by Raul Locsin, serialized in the *Western Visayas Chronicle*, June-September, 1965, p. 119.

¹²*PIR*, PR 58, Folder of Dauin, Negros Oriental; Romeo V. Cruz, "Filipino Collaboration with the Americans, 1899-1902" (Unpublished Master's thesis, University of the Philippines, 1956), pp. 188-89.

¹³Wilcox, *Harper's History*, p. 231.

¹⁴For the English text of this constitution, see *Report of Philippine Commission, 1900*, Part I, pp. 202-15. The Spanish text is in NC, XXV, 4206-236.

¹⁵"Smith at the Helm," *Freedom*, July 26, 1899, p. 1; Romero, *Negros Occidental*, p. 161; Wilcox, *Harper's History*, pp. 231-33.

¹⁶PIR, PR 58, Folder on Dauin, Negros Oriental.

¹⁷John R. M. Taylor, *Report on the Organization for the Administration of Civil Government Instituted by Emilio Aguinaldo and His Followers in the Philippine Archipelago* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), pp. 6-10.

¹⁸Taken from a pamphlet printed in Madrid by the revolutionary group there. Cited by William Thaddeus Sexton, *Soldiers in the Philippines: A History of the Insurrection* (Washington: Infantry Journal, 1944), p. 204.

¹⁹PIR, SD 6, Doc. No. 137.1.

²⁰Taylor, *Philippine Insurrection*, II, pp. 276-77.

²¹PIR, SD 39, Doc. No. 1132.1.

²²For a sampling of the orders of the Visayan guerrilla leaders, see Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines: Past and Present*, ed. by Joseph Ralston Hayden (New York: Macmillan Company, 1930), pp. 229-32.

²³U.S., *Official Gazette*, June 10, 1903, No. 40, I, 379-80. More details on the killing of Carballo are found in PIR, AN 45, pp. 56-62.

²⁴PIR, AN 45, Bks. C-6, p. 75; Taylor, *Philippine Insurrection*, II, p. 425.

²⁵"The 'cure' was given by laying a Filipino flat on his back, his mouth pried open with a stick, a bayonet, or even a cartridge case. Large quantities of water, sometimes salty, sometimes dirty, were then poured down the victim's throat until his stomach became distended. When no more water could enter, someone sat or stood on his stomach until the water was disgorged. . . .

The so-called 'rope cure' . . . was given by wrapping rope around the victim's neck and torso two or three times until it formed a sort of girdle. A stick was then placed between the ropes and twisted until a combination of smothering and garroting was created." Sexton, *Soldiers*, pp. 205-206.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 203.

²⁷Kalaw, *Philippine Revolution*, pp. 284-85.

²⁸Taylor, *Philippine Insurrection*, V, p. 317.

²⁹PIR, SD 30, Doc. No. 920.7.

³⁰*Ibid.*, SD 32, Doc. No. 970.6.

³¹NC, XXV, 4133; PIR, AN 45, p. 70.

³²*Annual Reports*, 1902, p. 407.

33Sexton, *Soldiers*, p. 214.

34Ibid., p. 211.

35PIR, SD 32, Doc. No. 970.7.

36Taylor, *Philippine Insurrection*, V, pp. 130-31.

37PIR, SD 41, Doc. No. 1183.1.

38Taylor, *Philippine Insurrection*, II, pp. 409-43, passim.

39Ibid., V, p. 623.

40Ibid.

41PIR, AN 45, Bks. C-7, pp. 1-2.

42Ibid., PR 58, Folder of Negros Occidental.

43He is listed as First Lieutenant of the Second Company of the First Infantry of the Revolutionary Army in Negros. Ibid., Folder on the Daily Account of Operations in Negros.

44Romero, *Negros Occidental*, p. 206.

45Varona, *Historia anecdótica*, pp. 239, 242.

46Interview with Pedro Lozada, Isabela, December 20, 1974.

47NC, XXVII, 4533-535, 4546.

48Romero, *Negros Occidental*, pp. 207-209.

49PIR, SD 32, Doc. No. 970.8.

50The Ilongo text of the *diario* is in PIR, PR 58. For the Spanish copy, see *ibid.*, SD 32, Doc. No. 970.8.

51Ibid., PR 58, Folder on Daily Accounts of Operations in Negros.

52Ibid., AN 45, Bks. C-6, pp. 69-70.

53Ibid., SD 32, Doc. No. 970.10.

54Ibid., AN 45, Bks. C-7, pp. 1-2. According to Romero, Ginete disregarded this order and remained in Negros. She does not consider him the leader of the first official expedition from Panay but rather as a member of the Silay police force that defected and joined the *tulisanes*. However, several sources state that Ginete was the leader of that first expedition and so he must have heeded the call to return to Iloilo. Romero, *Negros Occidental*, pp. 187, 192; NC, XVI, 2612; Ibid., XXVI, 4385.

55Report of Philippine Commission, 1900, Part II, p. 356.

56Testimony of José Luzuriaga, *ibid.*, p. 414.

57NC, XVI, 2652; XIV, 2391; PIR, AN 68, Folder of Guintabuan.

⁵⁸*Manifesto* of Ginete in *La Libertad*, August 25, 1899, in *PIR*, PR 58, Folder of Negros Occidental.

⁵⁹NC, XVII, 3885-886.

⁶⁰Interviews with Salome Olac of Isio, Cauayan, December 21, 1974; Teodoro Torrillo in Bayawan, January 3, 1975; Filemón Gemora of Ilog, December 22, 1974; Zoilo Parcon, Isabela, December 21, 1974; Ex-mayor Norberto Cordova, Kabancalan, December 19, 1974.

⁶¹Interview with Isidra Montejar, Guihulngan, January 5, 1975; White, *Bullets*, p. 65.

⁶²Isio's letter to Oyos, March 4, 1901 as quoted in Worcester, *The Philippines*, ed. by Hayden, p. 251.

⁶³Isio's letter to Oyos, May 19, 1900, NC, XXV, 4138.

⁶⁴*Report of Philippine Commission, 1900*, Part II, p. 357.

⁶⁵Letter of Isio to Oyos, November 1901, in Worcester, *The Philippines*, ed. by Hayden, n. 3, pp. 232-33; *PIR*, SD 32, Doc. No. 970.11.

⁶⁶NC, XXIX, 4669.

⁶⁷Interview with Ciriaco Galon, Bayawan, January 3, 1975.

⁶⁸Interview with Teodoro Torrillo, Bayawan, January 3, 1975; "Historical Data of Negros Oriental," II, p. 7.

⁶⁹*Annual Reports, 1902*, IX, p. 411. In an interview on December 22, 1974 with Nazario Baluyo, retired assistant municipal secretary of Ilog and whose wife claims to be the granddaughter of Rufo's sister, the author was told that Rufo was from Ilog, that he was not married and did not surrender to the Americans. However, another informant, Salome Olac of Isio, Cauayan, declared that she witnessed Rufo's surrender. According to Kennon, Rufo gave himself up to Lieutenant Roeder who was under Kennon's command. His being married is confirmed by Isio's letter to him dated May 19, 1900. *PIR*, SD 32, Doc. No. 970.1.

⁷⁰*Eighth Annual Report*, Part II, pp. 311-12.

⁷¹White, *Bullets*, p. 149.

⁷²Vic Hurley, *Jungle Patrol: The Story of the Philippine Constabulary* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1938), p. 141.

⁷³White, *Bullets*, pp. 150-54; U.S., War Department, Bureau of Insular Affairs, *Fourth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1903*, Part I (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), p. 873.

⁷⁴NC, XXIII, 3857-873.

⁷⁵*Fourth Annual Report*, Part I, pp. 34-35. According to Taft, "the difficulty of proof against persons known to be *ladrones*, in fixing upon

them particular acts of violence or robbery and the necessity for severe punishment led to the enactment of this statute."

76 White, *Bullets*, pp. 7-8.

77 Alfonso A. Calderon, "The Philippine Constabulary, 1901-1951: Half Century of Service," *Golden Book: Philippine Constabulary, August 8, 1901-August 8, 1951*, p. 26.

78 White, *Bullets*, p. 12.

79 "Bloody Campaigns in Negros," *Freedom*, August 21, 1899, p. 1.

80 *Annual Reports, 1902*, IX, p. 405.

81 White, *Bullets*, pp. 67-79.

82 *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.

83 *Fifth Annual Report*, Part III, p. 93.

84 *Eighth Annual Report*, Part I, p. 415.

85 U.S., War Department, Bureau of Insular Affairs, *Sixth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1905*, Part I (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906), p. 361.

86 NC, XXV, 4130.

87 *Fourth Annual Report*, Part I, p. 892; *Annual Reports, 1902*, IX, pp. 409-10.

88 Marco, *Reseña*, pp. 131, 147-48.

89 Interview with Nazario Baluyo, Ilog, December 22, 1974; Interview with Pedro Lozada, Isabela, December 20, 1974.

90 Interview with Atty. Augurio Abeto, Municipal Councilor of Binalbagan and member of the Negros Occidental Historical Commission, at Binalbagan, December 20, 1974.

91 Interviews with Isidra Montejar and Floro Ymalay, old residents of Guihulngan, January 5, 1975.

92 White, *Bullets*, pp. 105-106.

93 "Pulahanes Condenados," *El Renacimiento*, November 20, 1907, p. 1.

Chapter VI

BABAYLANISM AS REVITALIZATION MOVEMENT

In times of stress, revitalization movements are spawned. A leader appears and soon converts are made. Together they aim to come up with a more satisfying culture. Under the leadership of Isio, the revitalization process in Negros began. It was messianic in the sense that there was a "Pope" who "posed as an instrument of divine vengeance and his followers believed they were ordained by Jesus Christ to liberate the people of Negros from both the Spaniards and the Americans."¹ The "golden age" envisioned in this case was the time when the country would be free from invaders and the former way of life restored.

It was nativistic for as Krader declares, "the cult of the native way and the rejection of the alien way is nativism. It is never a primary response; it necessarily occurs late in the history of contact and invasion."² However, despite the rejection of the alien elements by the *Babaylanes*, some aspects of the foreign culture had seeped through as a result of acculturation. Babaylanism was a revivalistic kind of nativism for it sought to return to the good old days before the advent of the alien culture and the changes wrought by it. This attitude is especially evident in their pronouncements that "the lands would be repartitioned among the people, that machinery would no longer be permitted in the island, and that nothing but palay would thenceforth be planted."³ This also reflects the agrarian background of the movement. *La Solidaridad* claims that "the dissatisfaction since 1875 and the recent spirit of unrest which pervades the entire island is due to the exploitation of properties belonging to the natives and which are given to foreigners in flagrant violation of natural laws of economics."⁴ Since most of its adherents were farm laborers, Babaylanism took on anti-*hacendero* attitudes. The peasants rebelled against the condi-

tions of their existence and the presence of foreign conquerors was an added impetus to the movement. In his letter to the local *presidentes* in 1900, Isio appealed to them to fight for their independence for they do not want to become slaves of other nations."⁵ He also feared the Protestant Americans whom he believed came to corrupt their body and soul.⁶ Anti-foreignism is also shown in the selective way they were supposed to loot *haciendas*. Following the directive of Isio, A. Enriquez issued this order: "The owner of the canes found in Manapaning is a Visayan, and for this reason, you should not touch them. There are many canes there that belong to Spaniards that you can take."⁷

However, the *haciendas* of natives and Europeans were not spared the depredations if they were suspected of cooperating with the enemy. In a letter of Isio to Oyos dated May 19, 1900, he ordered that "when the wealthy are Americanistas, you must seize all their money, clothing and other property belonging to them, immediately making an inventory of the property seized."⁸

In a report of Governor Locsin of Negros Occidental to Taft in 1901, the Babaylanes were described as representing "a confused admixture of socialistic principles, anarchistic instincts, and a strong aberration of religious and fanatical notions."⁹ Because of their sanguinary and destructive tendencies, they were regarded by the victimized hacenderos and persons in authority as *tulisanes* or bandits and enemies of the law and order. What drove them to live the lives of hunted men in the mountains of Negros? The turning point in Isio's life was most probably his escape to the mountains after having allegedly wounded a Spaniard. He might have borne a grudge also against the hacendero class if the story that his family was ejected by a landlord from their farm is true. Discontented peasants and fugitives from justice swelled the ranks. Most of the discontented elements were *jornaleros* or workers who continued to eke out a marginal existence. Boggled down by debts and their lives made miserable by ill-treatment received from some hacenderos, harsh government officials or the abusive *Guardia Civil*, the common *tao* was not happy and satisfied with the existing conditions.¹⁰ Periodic calamities such as floods, typhoons, droughts and the onset of locusts and rinderpest as well as cholera epidemics aggravated the situation. Giving an added

boost to the movement was the Babaylanes' budding nationalism as well as patriotic sentiments. The coming of the Americans was viewed as another menace that threatened their way of life. Their rural values were at variance with the rapidly urbanizing society. The simple folks were subjected to increasing pressures until the stress became unbearable. They reacted in the traditional peasant manner, warding off bullets with bolos, believing in their *anting-anting* and trusting in the leadership of their "Pope." Because they were considered disruptive elements, successive regimes tried to suppress, and if possible, eliminate them.

¹Hart, "Buhawi," p. 371.

²Lawrence Krader, "A Nativistic Movement in Western Siberia," *American Anthropologist*, XLVIII, No. 2 (1956), p. 290.

³U.S., War Department, Bureau of Insular Affairs, *Annual Report of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1899*, Part III (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1899), p. 345.

⁴*La Solidaridad*, trans. by Guadalupe Fores-Ganzon (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1967), I, No. 1 (February 15, 1889), p. 21.

⁵PIR, SD 32, Doc. No. 970.4.

⁶NC, XXIX, 4669.

⁷Ibid., XXV, 4138.

⁸PIR, SD 32, Doc. No. 970.4.

⁹*Affairs in Philippine Islands*, Part I, p. 439.

¹⁰A typical convert of Isio was Rufo Oyo who rose to become one of his trusted generals. He was said to have been a cook of the Spanish *hacendero*, Alejandro Amechazurra, and because of the bad treatment he received from his *amo* or employer, joined Isio. Amechazurra, his son and a Filipino employee were later kidnapped as a result of personal grievances on the part of his laborers who connived with the Babaylanes to carry out the kidnapping. Only the employee died while Amechazurra and his son came to no harm, NC, XXIII, 3782.

Chapter VII

ASSESSMENT

Babaylanism is one of those little-known peasant protest movements that have largely remained an unexplored field in Philippine history. Hobsbawn believes that it is high time these movements should be "considered not simply as an unconnected series of individual curiosities, as footnotes to history, but as a phenomenon of general importance and considerable weight in modern history."¹ The *Babaylanes* have been dismissed as bandits, religious fanatics and charlatans. But there has not been much effort expended to try to understand their motivations. Theirs was essentially a peasant protest movement with messianic, revivalistic and nativistic overtones. Their unrealistic, naive and blundering efforts at revitalization have been amply demonstrated in their recourse to supernaturalistic devices such as the *anting-anting* and *oraciones*, as well as their fanatical tendencies. But it was the only way they knew of coping with the challenges that confronted them.

The Babaylan tradition had survived in some remote places in the Visayas. Confined mostly to the mountainous areas with an occasional raid in the lowlands in the early days, the Babaylanes continued to practice their age-old ceremonies and rituals. With the advent of Isio, however, the organization became increasingly militant. The revitalization process had begun. Linton observes that movements of this kind are common enough expressions among dominated groups. The troubles usually stem from two factors: exploitation and frustration.² Many peasants and rural folks became dissatisfied with the existing order. Hobsbawn calls them "primitive rebels." He defines their social banditry as a "cry for vengeance on the rich and the oppressors, a vague dream of some curb upon them, a righting of individual wrongs."³ In the Robin Hood tradition, Isio posed as a friend of the oppressed and the discontented. Many joined his ranks

and some fugitives from justice also sought refuge under his wing. The unsettled conditions in the country due to the wars waged against Spain and later, the United States, made it possible for the movement to flourish. Coupled with this situation were the natural calamities as well as epidemics that ravaged the country and decimated work animals and the people especially during the early years of the American occupation. Thus banditry was rampant characterized by cattle-stealing, robbery, kidnapping and even murder.

Modernization was setting in and many changes came about. The Babaylanes sought to recapture their old way of life before the intrusion of alien culture. The movement also reflected the social and agrarian unrest that was becoming evident in Negros with the growth of the sugar industry and the concomitant formation of large *haciendas* which were concentrated in the hands of a few prominent families. Apparently, the economic benefits did not reach all levels of society for the common *tao* saw no betterment of his condition and, in many cases, their situation even worsened with their lands alienated from them. The peasants and the rural folks remained isolated from the mainstream of events. Many felt left out and became dissatisfied with the prevailing situation. Babaylanism attracted a sizable number of workers or farm laborers with its preachings that the lands would be repartitioned among them, that no more machinery would be used in the island which was equated with the presence of foreigners and only palay would be planted.

In 1896, the nationalist agitation against Spain culminated in the revolution. Isio most probably saw this as his chance to alter the existing conditions by jumping into the revolutionary bandwagon. From extant *Guardia Civil* reports, it can be deduced that Babaylanism assumed alarming proportions under the leadership of Papa Isio just before the outbreak of the revolution against Spain in Negros. This revolution of 1898 was planned and directed by the *ilustrado-hacendero* clique backed by the masses. Most of the revolutionary troops were recruited from the haciendas. Isio and his followers were one with them in their desire to oust the intruders from the island although how deep their involvement was in this venture is difficult to determine due to the scarcity of source materials. When the *ilustrados* established the Provisional Government after the capitulation of the Spaniards, they pursued a policy of attraction

towards Isio for fear he might create trouble for them. This sort of truce was ruptured when the Negros leaders collaborated with the Americans. The Babaylanes' ire was now turned on the new colonial master whom they viewed as a threat to their newly won freedom and endangered their old way of life. Isio, therefore, aligned himself with Aguinaldo who was now anxious to tap mass support in the struggle against the Americans, recruiting even known bandits and outlaws into his army as long as they surrendered and professed allegiance to him. It seems that Isio was able to grasp some of the nationalistic ideals espoused by other revolutionary leaders. He enjoined his men to fight for their freedom and independence. In so doing foreign enslavement is avoided. Most probably he was influenced in his way of thinking by his personal contacts with some revolutionary leaders of Negros such as Juan Araneta, Carlos Gemora and Remigio Montilla. He was later in contact with Zoilo Mauricio, the man commissioned by Aguinaldo to coordinate the resistance efforts in Negros against the Americans. He also received orders from the Federal Council of Iloilo and communicated with other insurgent leaders of the Visayas like Arcadio Maxilom of Cebu and Leandro Fullón of Antique. He and his men were given commissions in the insurgent army by Gen. Miguel Malvar when the latter took over the reins of the revolutionary movement after the capture of Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo.

From available documents only Isio's thoughts are known. Whether his followers were imbued with the same sentiments expressed by him is difficult to tell. Most of them were unlettered men and farm workers who might have had vague notions of what Isio and the other revolutionary leaders were talking about and espousing, but to say that they fully comprehended or grasped the full extent of the nationalistic strivings may be saying too much for them. Their outlook was narrower and their immediate concern was for their own little world within the confines of Negros island. Independence might have meant to them freedom from oppressive landlords and corrupt officials as well as from taxes and other sanctions of the colonial masters. It also probably meant freedom to continue with their old way of life.

Negros was a sore spot to the American authorities because of the harassment of the Babaylanes. Incessant campaigns were, therefore, waged against them by the insular police forces but

they repeatedly failed to bring Isio down from the mountains. With the termination, however, of the Philippine-American War in 1902, Isio's revolutionary connections collapsed. There is a dearth of materials on the movement after 1902. It appears to have lost ground and degenerated into outlawry. Not long after this, the Bandolerismo Statute was enacted. The Babaylanes made up one of the armed bands which the statute declared were public enemies who disrupted the peace and tranquility of the towns. Isio continued to roam in the mountains of Negros but his hold was now tenuous. His membership dwindled with the surrender of some of his trusted generals like Rufo Oyos. His raids became infrequent. Eventually, he was convinced to surrender in 1907.

Political, economic, religious, social and cultural factors helped to create an atmosphere conducive to the growth of Babaylanism. The presence of foreigners added impetus to the movement as well. In the long run, the key factor in the recurrence of revitalization movements according to Sturtevant is "cultural alienation."⁴ It is out of the conflict between the Little Tradition of the peasants and rural folks and the Great Tradition of the elite and urbanized sector of the society that movements such as Babaylanism occur.

¹Eric J. Hobsbawn, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1965), p. 10.

²Ralph Linton, "Nativistic Movements," *American Anthropologist*, XLV, No. 2 (1943), pp. 238-39.

³Hobsbawn, *Primitive Rebels*, p. 5.

⁴Sturtevant, *Agrarian Unrest*, p. 30.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

LETTER OF DIONISIO PAPA TO THE PRESIDENTES LOCALES*

A los Presidentes Locales

En virtud de nuestra bandera por la cual no queremos ser esclavos de otras naciones, yo, el General en Jefe, en nombre del Consejo de Estado de la Ysla de Luzón, tengo que manifestar a V.V. la necesidad de la unión y del compañerismo, para rescatar la Ysla del poder de los invasores americanos que ambiciosos quieren subyugarnos con la fuerza.

Con respecto a las faltas que V.V. han cometido contra nuestra bandera nacional, graves faltas que también cometió el Gobierno de esta Ysla al someterse a la Soberanía Americana, admitiendo las condiciones impuestas, a voluntad de los ciudadanos de esta Ysla, las perdono; porque conozco que con la razón ofuzcada [sic] no pudieron ver el beneficio que hemos de conseguir más tarde. Tenemos necesidad de la unión y del compañerismo, y para nuestra unidad estamos aquí los que apoyamos a V.V. conformes con los mandamientos de Dios.

Consideren V.V. que nuestros antepasados pasaron por grandes dificultades y derramaron su sangre en el campo de batalla por defender nuestra Patria, y conviene también que nosotros, sus hijos, nos ayudemos mutuamente para sacudir el yugo de la esclavitud de esa Nación sumamente grande.

Igualmente les advierto a V.V. vuelvan las miradas a sus hermanos que derraman su sangre en el campo para conseguir la independenciam, y este ideal, si conseguimos Dios mediante, será en beneficio de todos nosotros. Por esto ¿quién tiene el corazón tan duro que no tenga la idea de ayudar en la lucha del campo

*PIR, 8D 32, Doc. No. 970.4.

con objeto de conseguir la independencia? Es precisa nuestra mutua cooperación y seamos todos uno, para que logremos después el bien general.

Sin otra cosa, espero la contestación de V.V. para que después, no culpe el uno al otro.

Dios guarde a V.V. por nuestra libertad e independencia muchos años. Cuartel General de Sipalay, 15 de julio de 1900.

El General en Jefe
(firmado)
Dionisio Papa

Appendix B

ELECTION OF TORIBIO MAGTULIS
AS LOCAL HEAD OF SIPALAY*

CATIPUNAN (Sociedad secreta)

Señor Dionisio Papa y Barlucia, General en Jefe de la Zona Sur y de operaciones en la isla de Negros.

En virtud de esta reunión y bajo la unanimidad de todos los principales y vecinos pudientes del pueblo de Sipalay, nosotros los firmantes nombramos Jefe local del pueblo al ciudadano Señor Toribio Magtulis, que ha de ser cabeza que procurará el bien de los habitantes, y a quien hemos de prestar nuestra obediencia.

Por tanto; como él ha sido objeto de la unanimidad de nuestros votos, nosotros hemos de coadyuvarle en todos los trabajos y socorrerle en el caso de que fuese objeto de envidia.

Cuartel General de Sipalay, 21 de julio de 1900.

El Delegado de Rentas

El Presidente Local

El Delegado de Policia
(firmado)
Rufino Orbigocho

El Delegado de Justicia
(firmado)
Demetrio Garina

El Secretario

*PIR, SD 32, Doc. No. 970.8.

Principales Firmantes

Basilio Dabuyan

Damian Española

Nota = Después de haberme enterado de lo que dice el presente documento, firmó con el General Comandante de Operaciones y Administrador Militar.

V. B.

El Administrador Militar
(firmado)
Trinidad Salas

El General en Jefe
(firmado)
Dionisio Papa

Appendix C

PLANTILLA OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY IN NEGROS UNDER DIONISIO PAPA*

Ejército Filipino

Cuartel General

<i>Empleos</i>	<i>Nombres</i>	<i>Observaciones</i>
Coronel Jefe Superior	Sr. Dionisio Seguela y Papa	Gobno. P. M. de Ysla de Negros
Ayudante 1 ^{er} Teniente	Sr. Valentin Guillermo	
Capitán Jefe de E. M.	Sr. Francisco Abilo	
1 ^{er} Teniente Auxillar	Sr. Segundo Goyos	
2 ^a Teniente Auxillar	Sr. Basilio Panes	

Administración Militar

<i>Empleos</i>	<i>Nombres</i>
1 ^{er} Teniente Adminis- trador Militar	Sr. Benito Sanchez
2 ^a Teniente Auxillar	Sr. Valentin Munistas
2 ^a Teniente Factor	Sr. Maximo Ymbag

*PIR, AN 13, Folder of Roster Rolls, Cebu.

Ejército Filipino

1er Regimiento de Ynfantería

1er Batallón Regular

Escala Activa

Cuadro de Jefes y oficiales del Ejército Regular de la provincia de Ysla de Negros, Visayas

<i>Empleos</i>	<i>Nombres</i>
Teniente Coronel 1er Jefe de Detall.	Sr. Rufo Oyos
Comandante Jefe de Armas	Sr. Felipe Guillermo
Comandante Jefe de Detall.	Sr. Lorenzo Cabalona
1er Teniente Abanderado	Sr. Ambrosio Egualan
2a Teniente Ayudante del Detall.	Sr. Alejandro Orquia
Médico	
Maestro Armero	

Cuadro de oficiales que componen las compañías del 1er Batallón del Ejército Regular de la provincia de Ysla de Negros, Visayas

<i>Empleos</i>	<i>Nombres</i>
1a Compañía	
Capitán	Sr. Andres Tangub
1er Teniente	Sr. Pedro Liban
2a Teniente	Sr. Filomeno Yson
2a Compañía	
Capitán	Sr. Juan de la Cruz
1er Teniente	Sr. Pedro Yungue
2a Teniente	Sr. Nicolas Sagario

3a Compañía

Capitán	Sr. Severino Sayson
1er Teniente	Sr. Severino Guillermo
2a Teniente	Sr. Bruno Guillermo

4a Compañía

Capitán	Sr. Filomeno Baltero
1er Teniente	Sr. Tomas Quillego
2a Teniente	Sr. Leocadio Dama

5a Compañía

Capitán	Sr. Nasario Eses
1er Teniente	Sr. Nicolas Escotes
2a Teniente	Sr. Anselmo Rondain

Hay un sello que dice = Comandancia Superior Ejército Revolucionario, Cebú.

Cebú, 19 de noviembre de 1900
El General Jefe Superior P.M.

Arcadio Maxilom
(rubricado)

Es Copia

Appendix D

DIONISIO PAPA APPOINTS EDUARDO SUAYO CHIEF OF CAMBANGCO*

Aco ang General en Jefe Superior y Gobernador Politico Militar de Ysla de Negros, Señor Dionisio Papa y Barlucia, naghatag aco sini nga titulo sa cay Señor Eduardo Suayo como sia isa sang pono o capitan actual sa buquiran sa Cambangco nga amo sia ang pono cag pañgolo sa tanan nga manga pomuluyo sa sina nga banua Canlaon y Malaiva sa tanan nga manga [illegible] nga wala sing isa nga maglomalalis cotub sang iya guinasugo [illegible] sapagdumala sang labing caayohan sa tanan nga manga guinsacupan; cag sapag complir sang tanan nga manga ordenes cag sapaghatag sing manga auxillar sa manga Señor Militares sa sini nga Gobierno Ysla de Negros; cag guinapañgayo co sa manga Señores Militares nga pagarespetahan nga subong sang acon lauas ang amo nga capitan actual sa sini nga banua Cambangco, Canlaon y Malaiva amo sia ang pañgolo cag magadumala sa tanan nga [illegible] diri sini nga banua nga acon sinangbit; cag guin firmahan co ini nga titulo cag guin firmahan sang acon secretario sa sining 1^{ro} de enero de 1901.

El Secretario

Valentin Guillermo Ledesma

El Comandante Superior
y General Jefe y Gobernador
P.M. de Ysla de Negros

Dionisio Papa

*PIR, PR 58, Folder of Dauin, Negros Oriental.

Appendix E

COMMISSION OF ISIO IN THE INSURGENT ARMY*

En virtud de las facultades de que me hallo investido, vengo en concederle a V. el empleo de *Coronel de Ynfantería* del Ejército Libertador, en vista de los servicios y meritos contraídos en la actual campaña.

Lo que comunicó a V. para su satisfacción y efectos consiguientes.

Dios guarde a V. muchos años.

Cuartel General, 14 de mayo de 1901

El General Jefe Superior Politico
Militar del Gobierno Departamental

Miguel Malvar

Al Señor Dionisio Segovela y Papa nombrado Coronel de Ynfantería.

**Noble Collection*, XXIII, 3857.

Appendix F

LETTER OF DIONISIO PAPA TO RUFO OYOS*

Sr. Rufo Oyos en Sipalay

Muy estimado Rufo: Tan pronto como reciba la presente orden, reuna V. lo más pronto posible a todos los soldados y demás varones aptos para empuñar las armas, exceptuando únicamente a los viejos, y procure activar la guerra desde el 20 de diciembre, porque en esta fecha se levantarán en armas todos los pueblos.

Encargué V. a todos que estén armados de lanzas y otras armas blancas. Los que se queden en los puestos, también deben estar armados para aguardar a los americanos que quieran escaparse. Yo estoy aquí esperando todavía la orden de Bacolod y la del Gobernador de Cebú y también a los soldados que fueron a socorrer en Cebú y que hasta la fecha no han regresado aún.

Ordene al Capitán Antonio que estén en las filas todos los soldados del dios Buhaue, los de Basay y los de Colipapa procurando que nadie de éstos se quede allí, y luego pase V. una circular a todos los pueblos ordenándoles que se levanten en armas en la fecha señalada, procurando que dicha circular llegue hasta Dumaguete.

Haga V. constar en esa circular que los pueblos que no se levanten en armas en el día señalado, serán reducidos a cenizas y muertos todos sus habitantes, hombres y mujeres, niños y viejos.

La circular ha de ser mía, y la firmará V. sólo por mi orden.

Comunique V. también a los Presidentes de Cagay-an y demás pueblos, que recauden las contribuciones de sus respectivos pueblos, a la mayor brevedad posible, y al Presidente que

*PIR, SD 32, Doc. No. 970.5.

no tenga recaudadas las contribuciones, cuando yo llegue en esos pueblos, le *mandaré a la horca sin pretexto alguno*.

Deseo que allí se reúnan pronto los Presidentes y esperen mi llegada.

Con una comunicación al Presidente de Cagay-an, mande V. a nuestros mismos soldados, sacar el cañon que tenemos en aquel pueblo, encargándoles que no se retiren sin traerlo, y que vuelvan pronto, de modo que estén allí en el día señalada. Así es mi voluntad y deseo que nadie se oponga a esta disposición.

Dígales a Obro y a Tali que tomen los cargos de Capitanes porque así quiero; si ellos observaren mala conducta, yo les arreglaré después.

Arregle V. bien a los soldados procurando que cada uno tenga su respectivo uniforme; que los Capitanes y Tenientes lleven sus galones que indiquen sus respectivas graduaciones. V. y Pedro sabrán organizar bien toda la tropa, y sin falta, tienen V.V. que marcharse el 20 de diciembre. Sin más.

(firmado)
Dionisio Papa

Appendix G

LETTER OF DIONISIO PAPA TO RUFO OYOS, GENERAL DE OPERACIONES*

Estimado Rufo: Así que reciba la presente orden, procurará V. lo mas pronto posible, reunir a los soldados, y recorrer los pueblos invitando a todos a que vayan a Bacolod, porque los Generales de aquí ya no descansan, sino combaten siempre contra los enemigos. El 13 de este mes es el día señalada para entrar en Bacolod, bien que no he recibido aun alguna comunicación oficial sobre este particular.

Los muertos de los enemigos en Bacolod eran numerosas, tanto que hubo que necesitar carros para llevarlos a enterrar.

V. y Capitán Antonio han de procurar lanzarse al campo en esta semana sin pretexto alguno, y deberán enterarse muy bien de mis comunicaciones. Basta de paciencia, y desde hoy es preciso que demostremos ya nuestra autoridad.

Conviene castigar con la degollación a los que van con los Americanos, pero hay que proceder antes a la averiguación del delito, y si después resultare que son verdaderos espías de los Americanos, inmediatamente hay que degollarles sin pretexto de ningun género.

V., el Capitán Antonio y el Juez Cornelio deben saber muy bien lo que dice esta orden: cuando los ricos fueren americanistas, deberán V.V. embargar todo su dinero, telas y demás bienes de su propiedad procediendo inmediatamente al inventario de todos los efectos embargados, y pueden detenerse en el lugar en donde se practique el embargo todo el tiempo necesario para hacer dicho inventario, aunque para ello se gaste mucho por la manutención.

Sepan V.V. además, que si los soldados llevaren algo de los

*PIR, SD 32, Doc. No. 970.4.

objetos embargados, a ellos les sobrevendrá pronto la muerte y de seguro caerán en el infierno; por esto, cuando tengan que entrar en un pueblo a practicar el embargo, deben V.V. encargar a los soldados que no toquen los objetos embargados aun los mas insignificantes, a fin de evitar desgracias semejantes.

He tenido, Rufo, noticia de que el Juez Cornelio es contrario de su suegro, y sepa V. que el Juez Cornelio es de mi sangre; por esto, dígame al suegro de V. que tenga mucho cuidado, porque dentro de poco se verá él conmigo, y me pagará por esas amenazas que va haciendo a la gente sin motivo justificado.

Publicará V. esta orden en la Casa Popular, a fin de que se enteren de ella los que son de mala sangre.

V., el Capitán Antonio y el Juez Cornelio que son los compañeros para lanzarse al campo, alcanzarán alguna felicidad si cumplieran esta orden.

Salud y fraternidad.

Calibon 19 de mayo de 1900.

(firmado)
Dionisio Papa

Appendix H

LETTER OF DIONISIO PAPA TO RUFO OYOS, CAPITAN GENERAL *

Sr. Rufo Oyos: He recibido su comunicación y me he enterado de lo que me dice V. en ella.

Por ahora no puedo ir allí porque estoy aquí arreglando las tropas de Bacolod, y les encargo a todos V.V., los que tienen autoridad, que sepan la manera de cumplir con sus obligaciones porque nuestra autoridad no es una broma. Los títulos de V.V., como también las nóminas, todos son procedentes de Manila.

La orden que acabo de recibir de Luzón, manda que se activen en este mes las operaciones porque Bryan ordenó a Emilio que active la guerra hasta abril, y dice que sino se concediera la independencia de Filipinas, él (Bryan) y los suyos se levantarán en armas contra los opositores.

Por tanto, V., Pedro y Felipe sabrán hacer allí lo que crea conveniente para el bien, teniendo en cuenta que los que se hallan revestidos de autoridad deben de procurar que no falte ni con la gente ni con Dios.

Deben V.V. de atenerse a las ordenes procedentes de Luzón: cuando se suponga que alguna persona haya cometido algun delito, hay que proceder entonces a la formación de la sumaria, o bien, si hay necesidad de aplicar a alguno la pena de muerte, debe incoarse el oportuno expediente con la debida formalidad y bajo la asistencia de las Autoridades, no dejándose llevar de los resentimientos y venganzas, por no castigar a los inocentes. Si el delito esta claramente probado, entonces puede V. dictar la sentencia contra el reo.

Piense V. muy bien lo que estoy haciendo, que es para el bien de su alma y cuerpo. Lo que V. ha hecho con el Capitán

*PIR, SD 32, Doc. No. 970.7.

Antonio, ya tengo puesto en olvido.

Ordene V. a D. Julián Nagquilat lo mas pronto posible que se levante allí en armas junto con el hermano de D. León, y que venga después porque a él le nombraré Jefe de Estado Mayor por haber ya estado de Administrador Militar en aquella zona.

Deseo que se constituya allí un gobierno provisional lo mas recto posible; V. y Señor Julián pueden señalar los candidatos, y remítame después el acta bajo una comunicación en forma, por conducto del Señor Julián Nagquilat porque tengo que remitirla a la Capital de Luzón. Busque V. para esto un escribiente que sepa bien redactar las comunicaciones.

Le encargo a V. que vigile bien a los hermanos de Trinidad, o procure que se escondan, mientras yo no llego allí, porque el 9 de marzo iré a Bacolod y de este pueblo a ese, y después de allí a Dumaguete.

4 de marzo de 1901.

(firmado)
Dionisio Papa

Appendix I

LETTER OF DIONISIO PAPA TO JOSE DE LA VIÑA*

Señor José de la Viña — Castellana

Muy señor mío: Con esta fecha he escrito estas letras dirigidas a V. con objeto de enviarle mis expresiones, deseándole que así como reciba la presente carta, se halle bueno y sano con toda su familia; y si V. desea saber nuestro estado de salud, debo decirle que estamos buenos, mediante la grande misericordia de nuestro Señor Dios cuya voluntad y mandato esperamos.

Hoy tiene que molestarle a V. este su hermano que está aquí en las montañas al frente de las tropas de la Revolución para pelear contra los americanos. Si es posible, hágame V. el favor de conseguir y prestarme diez bultos de arroz para la manutención de nuestros soldados.

Hoy esperamos los mandatos de Dios, porque se acerca el tiempo de arrojar a nuestros enemigos que llegaron aquí en nuestro tierra, y éstos no son de nuestra sangre, y sólo han venido para tentarnos y perder nuestro cuerpo y alma.

¡Oh hermano mío en la sangre! Estos son los soldados que yo esperaba a fin de poder enarbolar nuestra propia bandera en esta Ysla, y por lo tanto, no nos esclavicen los de otra nación; esto es el motivo por el cual estoy aquí sirviendo con entera voluntad a nuestra Patria, por quien derramó toda mi sangre en el campo.

No dudo que V. ha de conseguir lo que necesito en ésta, y espero su contestación a fin de enterarme. Nada más.

Paraiso, 3 de agosto de 1900

(firmado)
Dionisio Papa

*Noble Collection, XXVIX, 4669.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bibliography

NOTES ON SOURCES

Philippine Insurgent Records

With the official termination of the Philippine-American War in 1902, all the documents that dealt with the Philippine insurrection, as the Americans were wont to call it, were sent to Washington. Capt. John R. M. Taylor was assigned to work on these records and in 1906 he completed his compilation in five volumes based on about a thousand of what he deemed were important documents. When it was presented to Taft who was then Secretary of War, he put off its publication. When the narrative was sent to James Le Roy on December 28, 1908 he considered it unfit for publication. Le Roy who had worked in the Philippines with the Second Philippine Commission was by this time also writing a book on the Philippines based largely on secondary sources entitled *The Americans in the Philippines*. It was published in 1914 after Le Roy's death while Taylor's work remained as galley proofs. However, in 1971 the Eugenio Lopez Foundation deemed it fit to publish Taylor's *magnum opus*.

On October 27, 1958 the Philippine Insurgent Records, or PIR for short, were returned to the Philippines and deposited in the National Library where they are now available to scholars and researchers interested in them. Several boxes of Selected Documents, Army and Navy Records and Provincial Records were especially useful in the preparation of this work.

Noble Collection

Incorporated in the PIR is the collection of documents known as the *Compilation of Insurgent Documents Pertaining to the Visayan Group, 1898-1902* in 32 volumes prepared under the direction of Capt. Robert H. Noble, Adjutant General of the US Army in the Visayas with headquarters at Iloilo. He was assisted by Florencio R. Fabie as the official interpreter. Work

on this compilation started in the latter part of 1900 and was finished in 1902. A microfilm copy of this work is available at the National Library, No. 254, Rolls 637 to 643.

Commission and War Department Reports

These documents are found in the American Historical Collection of the US Embassy. They reflect the official attitude of the Americans towards the *Babaylanes*. They are quite valuable because some contain field reports of officers who were participants in the events they reported or described.

Guardia Civil Reports

Sadly lacking are records about the Babaylanes prior to the advent of the Americans. However, references to them are occasionally contained in the *Guardia Civil* reports. These are deposited in the National Archives. A compilation of some of these is available in the Filipiniana Section of the University of Santo Tomas Library entitled "Sucesos de Negros desde Octubre de 1896 a Febrero de 1897." It consists of Guardia Civil reports from Negros as well as communications from the Commandant General of Panay and Negros, reports from the Governor of Negros Occidental, and a letter from the Captain General of the Philippines.

Other Sources

A rare book on Negros which mentions the Babaylanes is Echauz's *Apuntes de la Isla de Negros*. The author was a judge in the Court of First Instance in Negros from 1881 to 1884.

Another valuable book is White's *Bullets and Bolos: Fifteen Years in the Philippine Islands*. It is his personal account of his career as a Constabulary officer in the Philippines. When he was assigned in Negros, he led many a campaign against the Babaylanes.

Primary Sources

A. Manuscript and Microfilm Collection

Guardia Civil Reports. Selected entries. NA

1880-1897 — Exp. 60, ff. 391-92, March 15, 1889.

1889-1891 — Exp. 21, ff. 145-48, March 31, 1890.

1889-1898 — Exp. 149, ff. 553-54b, May 12, 1897.

1873-1898 — Exp. 70, ff. 803-807b, January 31, 1898.

"Historical Data of Negros Oriental." Vols. II, IV. Compiled by the Public School Teachers of the Province, 1952. 5 vols. NL.

Noble, Robert H. *Compilation of Insurgent Documents Pertaining to the Visayan Group, 1898-1902*. Interpreted by Florencio R. Fabie. Vols. XIII, XIV, XVI, XVII, XXII, XXIII, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXIX, XXXI. 32 vols. Iloilo: Office of the Adjutant General, Fifth Separate Brigade, 1902. Microfilm Collection. NL.

Philippine Insurgent Records. Selected entires. NL.

AN 45 — Important Copies of Insurgent Documents in the Visayas.

AN 45 — Books C-6, *Actas del Gobierno provisional de la Revolución—Empezó el 17 de noviembre de 1898 en Santa Barbara y terminó el 27 de mayo de 1899 en Kabatuan*.

AN 45 — Books C-7, *Actas del Gobierno provisional de la Revolución—Empezó el 2 de junio de 1899 en Kabatuan y terminó el 23 de setiembre de 1899 en Kabatuan*.

AN 68 — Military Commands, 1898-1901. Folder of Guin-tabuan.

PR 58 — Folder of Daily Account of Operations in Negros.

PR 58 — Folder of Dauin, Negros Oriental.

PR 58 — Folder of Negros Occidental.

SD 3 — Doc. No. 77.3. Certification from the Secretary of the Cantonal Government regarding the type of government desired by the Negrenses, November 28, 1898.

SD 6 — Doc. No. 137.1. Aguinaldo's proclamation pardoning bandits and evildoers, February 16, 1899.

SD 13 — Doc. No. 315.1. Aniceto Lacson sent to Malolos a copy of the Act of Capitulation of the Spaniards

in Bacolod, November 7, 1898.

Doc. No. 311.1. Aguinaldo's order dissolving the Federal Council of Iloilo, April 27, 1899.

SD 19 — Doc. No. 553.12. Kinds of *anting-anting*.

SD 30 — Doc. No. 920.7. Memorandum regarding the revival of the *Katipunan* in the Visayas, October 24, 1900.

SD 32 — Doc. No. 970.4. Letter of Papa Isio to local presidents, July 15, 1900.

Doc. No. 970.4. Letter of Papa Isio to Oyos, May 19, 1900.

Doc. No. 970.4. Letter of Papa Isio to Oyos, June 13, 1901.

Doc. No. 970.5. Letter of Papa Isio to Oyos, November, 1901.

Doc. No. 970.7. Letter of Papa Isio to Oyos, March 4, 1901.

Doc. No. 970.8. Letter of Papa Isio to Oyos, November 5, 1901.

Doc. No. 970.8. *Acta* of March 2, 1899 and the plantilla of Papa Isio.

Doc. No. 970.8. Election of Magtulis as Chief of Sipalay, July 21, 1900.

Doc. No. 970.10. Instructions of Roque Lopez to the Panay expeditionary forces to Negros, July 26, 1899.

Doc. No. 970.11. Collection of Contributions by Isio's agents.

SD 39 — Doc. No. 1131.1. Malvar's order regarding the punishment of those who side with the Americans, June 25, 1901.

SD 41 — Doc. No. 1183.1. Apacible's letter from Hongkong to Malvar, May 28, 1901.

B. *Government Reports and Documents*

U.S. Congress. Senate. *Affairs in the Philippine Islands*. Hearings before the Committee on the Philippines of the U.S. Senate, 57th Cong., 1st sess., Doc. No. 331. Part I. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902.

U.S. *Official Gazette*. "The U.S. vs. Anacleto Santillana et al." Docket No. 985, I, No. 40, June 10, 1903, 379-80.

U.S. Treasury Department. U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. *Atlas de Filipinas*, by José Algué, S.J. Special Publication No. 3. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900.

U.S. War Department. Bureau of Insular Affairs. *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President, January 31, 1900*. Vols. I and II. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900.

_____. *Third Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1902*. Part I. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903.

_____. *Fourth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1903*. Part I. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904.

_____. *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1904*. Parts I and III. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1905.

_____. *Sixth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1905*. Part I. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906.

_____. *Eighth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1907*. Parts I and II. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908.

_____. *Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1908*. Part I. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1909.

_____. *Annual Report of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1899*. Parts II and III. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1899.

_____. *Annual Report of the War Department for the Fiscal*

Year Ended June 30, 1902. Vol. IX. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902.

_____. *Annual Report of the War Department, 1907*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908.

_____. *Annual Report of Major General Arthur MacArthur, 1901*. Vol. II, Appendix UU. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901.

C. Books

Alcina, Francisco Ignacio. *Historia de las islas e indios de Bisayas* (1668). Part I, Book 3. Preliminary translation by Paul S. Lietz. Chicago: University of Chicago, Philippine Studies Program, 1960.

Chirino, Pedro. *Relación de las Islas Filipinas*. Translated by Ramon Echevarria. Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1969.

The Colonization and Conquest of the Philippines by Spain. Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1965.

Echaz, Robustiano. *Apuntes de la Isla de Negros*. Manila: Tipo-litografía de Chofré y Compañía, 1894.

Fuentes, Cornelio R. *Apuntes documentados de la Revolución en toda la Isla de Negros*. Primera parte. Iloilo: El Centinela, Inc., 1919.

Loarca, Miguel de. "Relación de las Yslas Filipinas." Vol. V. *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*. Edited by Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson. 55 vols. Cleveland: A. H. Clark, 1903-1909.

Loney, Nicholas. *A Britisher in the Philippines or The Letters of Nicholas Loney*. Manila: National Library, 1964.

Martinez de Zuñiga, Joaquin. *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas*. Edited by Wenceslao E. Retana. Tomo II. Madrid: Minuesa de los Rios, 1893.

Pigafetta, Antonio de. *First Voyage Around the World*. Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1969.

Regidor, Antonio M. and Mason, Joseph Warren. *Commercial Progress in the Philippine Islands*. London: Dunn & Chidgey, 1905.

- Sanz, Pedro. *Plan de Misiones para Isla de Negros*. Manila: Establecimiento tipográfico de Ramirez y Giraudier, 1881.
- Sastrón, Manuel. *La Insurrección en Filipinas y Guerra Hispano-americana en el Archipiélago, 1896-1899*. Madrid: Imprenta de la sucesor a de M. Minuesa de los Rios, 1901.
- "Sucesos de Negros desde Octubre de 1896 a Febrero de 1897," n.p., n.d.
- Taylor, John R. M. *The Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*. Vols. II and V. 5 vols. Pasay City: Eugenio Lopez Foundation, 1971.
- _____. *Report on the Organization for the Administration of Civil Government Instituted by Emilio Aguinaldo and His Followers in the Philippine Archipelago*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903.
- Varona, Francisco. *Negros: Historia anecdótica de su riqueza y de sus hombres*. Manila: General Printing Press, 1938.
- _____. *Negros: Its History and People*. Translated by Raul Locsin. Serialized in the *Western Visayas Chronicle*, June-September, 1965.
- Veloso, Alfredo A. *Testament and Political Letters of Apolinario Mabini*. Quezon City: Asvel Publishing Co., 1964.
- Walker, Herbert S. *The Sugar Industry in the Island of Negros*. Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1910.
- White, John R. *Bullets and Bolos: Fifteen Years in the Philippine Islands*. New York: Century Co., 1928.
- Wilcox, Marrion, ed. *Harper's History of the War in the Philippines*. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1900.
- Worcester, Dean C. *The Philippine Islands and Their People*. New York: Macmillan Company, 1899.

D. Newspaper Articles

- Freedom*. Manila. "Deadly Battle on the Isle of Negros." July 23, 1899, p. 1.
- _____. "Smith at the Helm." July 26, 1899, p. 1.
- _____. "Civil Law in Negros." July 28, 1899, pp. 1, 4.

_____. "Bloody Campaigns in Negros." August 21, 1899, pp. 1, 5.

_____. "Byrne Whips Bandits." September 4, 1899, p. 1.

La Independencia. Manila. Juan Araneta. "Rendición de Bako-lod." I, 96 (December 28, 1898), pp. 1-2.

El Renacimiento. Manila: "Pulahanes Condenados." November 20, 1907, p. 1.

La República Filipina. Manila. José Ner. "El Por qué del Levantamiento de Negros Occidental." I, 54 (November 18, 1898), p. 2.

La Solidaridad. Barcelona. "Crónica." I, 1 (February 15, 1889), p. 21. Translated by Guadalupe Fores-Ganzon. Vol. I. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1967.

E. *Personal Interviews*

Abeto, Augurio. Municipal Councilor of Binalbagan and a member of the Negros Occidental Historical Commission. Binalbagan, Negros Occidental, December 20, 1974.

Baluyo, Nazario. Retired Assistant Municipal Secretary of Ilog. Ilog, Negros Occidental, December 22, 1974.

Cordova, Norberto. Ex-Mayor of Kabancalan. Kabancalan, Negros Occidental, December 19, 1974.

Galon, Ciriaco. Old resident of Bayawan. Ninety-seven years old. Bayawan, Negros Oriental, January 3, 1975.

Gemora, Filemón. Municipal Councilor of Ilog and grandson of Capitán Carlos Gemora. Ilog, December 22, 1974.

Lapore, Nicolas. Eighty-six years old. Isio, Cauayan, Negros Occidental, December 21, 1974.

Lozada, Pedro. Oldtimer of Isabel. Ninety-one years old. Isabel, Negros Occidental, December 20, 1974.

Montejar, Isidra. Old resident of Guihulngan. Ninety-four years old. Guihulngan, Negros Oriental, January 5, 1975.

Olac, Salome. Old resident of Isio, Cauayan. Ninety-four years old. Isio, December 21, 1974.

Parcon, Zoilo. Retired headteacher of Isabel. Isabel, December 20, 1974.

- Quintab, Apolonio. Oldtimer of Manalad, Ilog. Ninety-two years old. Manalad, December 21, 1974.
- Taliseo, Lucio. Ninety-nine-year-old resident of Bayawan. Bayawan, January 3, 1975.
- Torrillo, Teodoro. Oldtimer of Bayawan. Eighty-eight years old. Bayawan, January 3, 1975.
- Ymalay, Floro. Old resident of Guihulngan. Eighty-five years old. Guihulngan, January 5, 1975.

Secondary Sources

A. Books

- Agoncillo, Teodoro A. *Malolos: The Crisis of the Republic*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1960.
- Constantino, Renato. *The Philippines: A Past Revisited*. Quezon City: Tala Publishing Services, 1975.
- Costa, Horacio de la. *Readings in Philippine History*. Manila: Bookmark, 1965.
- Forbes, William Cameron. *The Philippine Islands*. Vol. I. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928.
- Galang, Zoilo M., ed. *Encyclopedia of the Philippines*. Vol. VIII. 10 vols. Manila: P. Vera and Sons Company, 1936.
- Handbook of the Sugar and Other Industries in the Philippines*. Manila: Sugar News Press, Inc., 1953.
- Hobsbawm, Eric J. *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1965.
- Hurley, Vic. *Jungle Patrol: The Story of the Philippine Constabulary*. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1938.
- Kalaw, Teodoro M. *The Philippine Revolution*. General Emilio Aguinaldo centennial edition. [Mandaluyong] Jorge B. Vargas Filipiniana Foundation, 1969.
- Le Roy, James A. *Philippine Life in Town and Country*. New York: G. P. Putnam and Sons, 1905.

- Marco, José E. *Reseña histórica de la Isla de Negros desde los tiempos mas remotos hasta nuestros días*. Annotated by Manuel Artigas y Cuerva. Manila: La Vanguardia, 1912.
- Romero, Ma. Fe Hernaez. *Negros Occidental Between Two Foreign Powers, 1888-1909*. [Bacolod] Negros Occidental Historical Commission, 1974.
- Ruiz, Licinio. *Sinopsis histórica de la Provincia de San Nicolas de Tolentino de las Islas Filipinas de la Orden de Agustinos Descalzos*. Vol. II. Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press, 1925.
- Sexton, William Thaddeus. *Soldiers in the Philippines: A History of the Insurrection*. Washington: Infantry Journal, 1944.
- Storey, Moorfield and Lichauco, Marcial P. *The Conquest of the Philippines by the United States*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1926.
- Sturtevant, David R. *Agrarian Unrest in the Philippines*. Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, Southeast Asia Program, 1969.
- Wernstedt, Frederick L. and Spencer, Joseph E. *The Philippine Island World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.
- Worcester, Dean C. *The Philippines: Past and Present*. Vol. I. 2 vols. New York: Macmillan Company, 1914.
- _____. *The Philippines: Past and Present*. Edited by Joseph Ralston Hayden. New York: Macmillan Company, 1930.

B. Articles

- Arens, Richard. "The Early Pulahan Movement in Samar and Leyte." *Journal of History*, VII, No. 4 (1959), 303-71.
- Bauzon, Leslie E. "Rural History, Land Tenure and the Negros Hacienda Complex: Some Preliminary Notes." *PSSC Social Science Information*, I, No. 3 (1974), 4-7, 21, 23.
- Benda, Harry J. "Peasant Movements in Colonial Southeast Asia." *Asian Studies*, III, No. 3 (1965), 420-34.
- Calderon, Alfonso A. "The Philippine Constabulary, 1901-1951: Half a Century of Service." *Golden Book, Philippine Constabulary: August 8, 1901-August 8, 1951*, 25-40.

- Crippen, Harlan R. "Philippine Agrarian Unrest: Historical Backgrounds." *Science and Society*, X, No. 4 (1946), 337-60.
- Fox, Robert B. "The Prehistoric Foundations of Philippine Culture." *Solidarity*, III, No. 3 (1968), 69-93.
- Hart, Donn V. "Buhawi of the Bisayas: The Revitalization Process and Legend Making in the Philippines." *Studies in Philippine Anthropology*. Edited by Mario D. Zamora. Quezon City: Alemar-Phoenix Publishing House, 1967. *
- Krader, Lawrence. "A Nativistic Movement in Western Siberia." *American Anthropologist*, LVIII, No. 2 (1956), 282-92.
- Linton, Ralph. "Nativistic Movements." *American Anthropologist*, XLV, No. 2 (1943), 230-40.
- McCoy, Alfred W. "Baylan: Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology." *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, X, No. 3 (1982), 141-94.
- Wallace, Anthony F. C. "Revitalization Movements." *American Anthropologist*, LVIII, No. 2 (1956), 264-81.

C. Unpublished Materials

- Cruz, Romeo V. "Filipino Collaboration with the Americans, 1899-1902." Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of the Philippines, 1956.
- Legarda, Benito F., Jr. "Foreign Trade, Economic Change and Entrepreneurship in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1955.
- Sturtevant, David R. "Philippine Social Structure and Its Relation to Agrarian Unrest." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1958.
- Veneración, Jaime B. "The Philippine-American War: Visayan Phase, 1899-1902." Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of the Philippines, 1970.

INDEX

- Abilo, Francisco 59
 Acapulco 8
 Aduarte, Diego de 17
 Aguacil-cito 63
 Aguinaldo, Emilio 1, 33-34, 36-37, 40, 42, 44-51
 Albino, Ricardo 34
 Alcachufas, Eugenio 54
 Alcina, Francisco Ignacio de 17, 19
 Allen, Henry T. 55
 Amechazurra, Alejandro 73
 Amenabar, Agustin 35
 America 42, 44, 47-48, 75
 agents 46
 Americanistas 45-46, 50, 53-54, 72
 Americans 2, 8, 12, 37, 41-46, 48-55, 58-59, 65, 71, 73, 76
 armed forces 22, 33, 41, 46, 65
 First California Volunteer Infantry 42
 flag 41-42
 presidential election of 1900 47-48
 Protestant Americans 72
 Sixth Infantry 43, 58-59
 US Cavalry 55
 US Fleet 44
 Amnesty Proclamation 47
 anitos 17-18
 anting-anting 19-20, 22-23, 25, 32, 73-74
 Antique 10, 20, 24, 33, 53-54, 76
 Apacible, Galicano 48
 aparceros 12-13
 Apostol, Regino 36
 Aranetas 10
 Araneta, Juan 10, 34-35, 40-42, 49, 65, 76
 Artieda, Diego de 4
 asog 18
 Augustin, Basilio 33
 Augustinians 7
 Australia 9
 Avellas 10
 Ayuhgon 32
 Azcona, Andres 41
 Babaylanism 2, 17, 19-20, 22-24, 71, 74-75, 77
 Babaylan(es) 2, 18-25, 31-32, 37, 41, 43-44, 47, 52-55, 58-59, 63, 66, 71-77
 as civil-civil 32
 as insurgents 53-55
 as *Pulahanes* 32
 as religious functionary 17-19
 babaylan hierarchy 54
 babaylan tradition 19-20, 30, 74
 rituals and ceremonies 21
 Bacolod 4, 7, 10, 34-35, 37, 40-42, 56, 66
 Bago 10, 24
 Baguines [Bagawinis] 34
 Baguio, Pedro 34
 Bais 10
 balatics 63
 Bandolerismo Statute 55, 77
 Baraua Dios 20
 Basay 30
 Bathala 25
 Bauzon, Leslie E. 11
 Bayawan 23, 54, 57
 Beaumont, Pedro 7
 bejuco 63
 Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation 44
 Bilibid Prison 55, 65
 Binalbagan 7, 10, 34
 Bobong (La Carlota) 58
 Bohol 8-9, 57
 Bonifacio, Andres 32
 Bontoc (Tayasan) 32
 Bourns, Frank 53-54
 Bowers, George 20, 23, 37, 65
 Brixham trawlers 15
 Bryan, William Jennings 47-48
 Buglas 4
 buyo 21
 Byrne, B. A. 58
 Ca Martin 30
 Cabungbungan 23

- caciques 12
 Cadiz 7, 48
 Cadiz Nuevo 46
 camarin 21
 "Camilla" 9
 Canleon, Silvestre 34
 cantor 23
 capitan-municipal 26, 31
 Capiz 10, 33
 Carballo, Juan 45, 52
 cargadores 63
 Castro, Isidro de 35
 catalonan 18
 Cavite 2, 44
 Cebu 4, 7-9, 13, 33, 48, 51, 53, 57, 76
 Cebuano 4
 port 8
 revolution 34
 Celedonio 59, 64
 Central American countries 12
 Charleston 41
 China 9
 Chinese 10
 Chinese mestizos 11
 Chirino, Pedro 17, 25
 Cinco, Anselmo 59
 Civil government 8, 43, 55
 Coleongco 11
 Colipapa 30
 Colorum 2
 common tao 11-12, 72, 75
 corregidor 7
 Costa, Horacio de la 11
 Council of Reforms 33
 Crippen, Harlan R. 13

 Dalmacio the Negrito 54-55
 datus 12
 Delgado, Martin 33, 41, 48
 Deligero, Basilio 32
 Democrat 47
 denuncia 11
 Devonshire 15
 Diagos 10
 Dioceno, Ananias 33, 48
 Dios Buhawi 30, 38
 Dios-Dios movement 2
 diuatas 17-18

 Dominicans 2, 7
 dukut 46
 Dumaguete 4, 7-8, 36, 42, 57

 Echauz, Robustiano 8-10, 20
 Elope, Ponciano (see *Dios Buhawi*)
 embargo 11
 encomenderos 4
 England 9, 15
 Enriquez, A. 72
 Escalante 54, 56
 escribiente 25

 Federal Party 47-48
 Flores, Laureano 36
 Forbes, William Cameron 1-2
 Fullón, Leandro 33, 53, 76
 Funston, Frederick 48

 galleon trade 8
 Gaston, Ives Germain 9-10
 Gemora, Carlos 24, 34, 76
 General Order No. 8 42-43
 General Order No. 30 8, 43
 Ginete, Luis 52, 68
 Glass, Captain 41
 Golez, Nicolas 35
 Great Britain 9
 Great Tradition 77
 Grupi, Herman 23, 65
 Guardia Civil 25, 29, 31-34, 54, 72
 abuses 29-30
 campaigns 29-32
 creation 29-30
 jurisdiction 29
 reports 75
 Guardia de Honor 2
 Guihulngan 34, 65, 69-70
 Guillermo, Felipe 51
 Guimaras Island 15
 Strait 4
 Guimbal 10, 26
 Guintabuan 52
 rebels 52
 Guzman, Rosendo de 34

 hacienda(s) 10, 13, 34, 36, 46, 53-

- 54, 58, 63, 72, 75
hacendero(s) 11-13, 25, 36, 50, 63, 71, 73
hacendero-ilustrado clique 37, 75
hacienda laborers 12, 15-16, 75
Hacienda Bagacay 10
Hacienda Buenretiro 10
Hacienda Canlaon 59
Hacienda Concepcion 10
Hacienda Constanca 10
Hacienda Haguimit 47, 60
Hacienda Lupit 10
Hacienda Ma-ao 10
Hacienda Matabang 10
 Haiti 12
 Hiligaynon 4
 Himamaylan 7, 24-25, 35, 54, 56, 59
 Hobsbawm, Eric, 74
 Hongkong 13, 44, 48
 emissaries 50, 53
 Junta 50
 Hughes, General 12
 Hugo, Fortunato 35
 Ilocos 2
 Ilog 7, 24, 26, 31, 34
 Iloilo 7-10, 19, 31, 33-34, 40-44, 48, 50, 52, 68
 Comite Conspirador 33-34
 Ilongo (see Hiligaynon)
 Ilongos 9
 Federal Council of Iloilo 9, 52, 76
 revolutionary government 40
ilustrado(s) 36-37, 42, 44, 49, 75
 Ingo of Cabatuan 21
 Ingo of Leon 21
 Insausti, Judge 34-35
 Isabela 20, 23-25, 31, 34, 50, 56-57, 59, 65
 Isio (Cauayan) 56-57
 Jaro 9, 33-34, 50, 52
 Javelona, Fausto, Sr. 52
 Jayme, Antonio 35
 Jesuits 7
 Joaquin, Ignacio 52
 Jocson 11
jornaleros 12-13, 72
 Kabancalan 31, 57, 63
 Kabatuan (Iloilo) 51
Katipunan 46-47
 Katipuneros 32
 Kennon, Captain 23, 47, 54, 59
 Krader, Lawrence 71
 La Carlota 24, 50, 57-59
 La Castellana 20, 23, 37, 47, 50, 54, 56-57, 59, 61, 65
 La Granja 57
La Libertad 42
La Solidaridad 71
 Lacsons 10-11
 Lacson, Aniceto 34-35, 41
 Lacson, Lucio 10
ladrones 55, 69
 Lapnis 31
 Larena, Demetrio 36
 Larena, Meliton 36
 Le Roy, James A. 19, 26
 Ledesmas 10
 Ledesma, Gervacio 51
 Ledesma, Juan 52
 Ledesma, Simeon 10
 Ledyard, Lieutenant 50
 Legarda, Benito F., Jr. 8
 Legaspi 8
 Legaspi expedition 4
 "Leon Kilat" 34
 Leyte 2, 32-33, 48
 Leytoria, Francisco 36
 Limsiaco 11
 Little Tradition 77
 Lizares, Simon 35
 Loarca, Miguel de 4-5, 17-18
 local *presidentes* 54, 59, 72
 Locsin, Governor 72
 Loney, Nicholas 9
 as British Vice-Consul 8
 Father of Sugar Industry 9
 Loney and Ker 9, 15
 Loney, Robert 9
 Muelle Loney 9
 Lopez, Eugenio 50
 Lopez, Eusebio 50

- Lopez, Maria 50
 Lopez, Roque 33-34, 52
 Lopez, Rosario 50
lorchas 9, 15
 Lucban, Vicente 33, 48
 Luzon 1, 29, 34, 40, 48-49, 51, 53
 Luzuriagas 10
 Luzuriaga, Eusebio 35, 41
 Luzuriaga, José 10, 20, 35, 41, 43

maayong laki 25
 Mabini, Apolinario 40-41
 Macabong (Isabela) 59
 MacArthur, Arthur 47
 Magallon 20, 31, 56
 Magalonas 10
 Magbanua, Elias 52
 Magbanua, Pascual 52
 Magbuela, Dionisio (see "Papa" Isio)
 Magellan expedition 17
Malaon or Laon 25
 Malaspina (see Mt. Canlaon)
malhechores 29
 Malolos Government 40-41, 49-51
 Commissioner 50
 emissaries 53
 Malvar, Miguel 45, 48, 55, 76
 Manalad (Ilog) 23
 Manapaning 72
 Manapla, 7, 52, 56
 Mandurriao 10
 Mangahoykahoy (Isabela) 65
 Manila 8, 19, 33, 41-42, 44, 65
 Manjuyod 32
 Manolongon 7
 Mansalanao 59, 63
 Marabago 7
 Marco, José E. 24, 27
 Mass movements 1
 cargo cults 1
 cult movements 1
 messianic 1, 74
 millenarian 1
 nativistic 1, 71, 74
 primitive rebels 74
 religio-political protest move-
 ments 1, 74
 revitalization movement 1, 71, 77
 revitalization process 2, 74
 revivalistic 1, 71, 74
 Mauricio, Zoilo 49-50, 52, 76
 Maxilom, Arcadio 48, 51, 65, 76
 Mayo, Juan 54
mayor-mayor 19, 21, 23
 McKinley, William 44, 47
 Mejia, Pedro 33
 Melbourne 9
 Mexico 12
 Miagao 10
 Miller, Marcus 41-43
 Mindanao 40
 Miner, E. W. 43
 Minuluan 7
 Mohler, Lieutenant 65
 Mojica, Ambrosio 33, 48
 Molo 9, 33-34
 Monet, Ricardo 35
 Montenegros 10
 Montero, General 33
 Montillas, 9-10, 20, 24
 Montilla, Agustin 10
 Montilla, Candido 50
 Montilla, Gil 65
 Montilla, Juana 50
 Montilla, Remigio 50, 76
 Montinola, Geminiano 50
 Morga, Antonio de 17
 Mt. Canlaon 4, 58-59, 65
 Murcia 55-56

 native religion 17-19
 offering of sacrifice(s) 18-19, 21
 pag-anitos 18
 pagdiuatas 18
 Negros 4, 7-13, 19-20, 22, 24, 30-31, 33-34, 36, 43, 47, 49-54, 58-59, 68, 71-72, 75-77
 cantonal governments 8, 40, 43, 49, 66
 Chamber of Deputies 43
 Congress of Deputies 43
 Consultative Council 43
 Federal Republic of Negros 40

- Military-Civil Government 8, 43
 Negrense(s) 11, 34, 37, 40, 51
 Negros collaboration 40-44
 Negros Commission 41-42
 Negros Constitution 43
 Negros Occidental 4, 7, 20, 23-24, 31, 34-35, 40-42, 44, 51, 54, 56-57, 62
 Negros Oriental 4, 8-9, 23, 34-35, 40, 42, 44-45, 54-56, 65
 Negros Revolution 8, 32-37
 Politico-Military Gov. 7-8, 41
 Politico-Military province 7
 Provisional Government 35, 37, 40-41, 75
 Ner, José 34
 New Zealand 9
 Nueva Ecija 1

oraciones 22-25, 74
 Orenco, Catalino 47
 Otis, Elwell 8, 41-42, 46-47
 Oyos, Rufo 30, 47, 51, 54-55, 65, 69, 72-73, 77

pacto de retroventa 11
Padre Eterno 21, 23
 Palali (Isabela) 49
 Palanan 48
 palay 9-10, 75
 Panay 4, 7, 9, 13, 17, 19-22, 24, 31, 33, 51
 emissaries 53
 expeditionary forces 49-50, 52, 68
 rebels 50-51
 revolutionary movement 34
pangasi 21
 Pangasinan 2
 Papa, Dionisio 47 (see also "Papa" Isio)
 "Papa" Isio 2, 20, 22-26, 30-31, 37, 47, 49-55, 58-59, 63, 65, 71-77
 Diario de Operaciones de Negros 51
 plantilla of Isio 50-53
 Paris 13
 Patero, Miguel 36
 Payao 24, 56
 Peele, Hubbell and Co. 8
 Peña, José de la 36
 Perfecto, Juan 19
 "Pet" 9
 Philippine-American War 44-49, 77
 barbaric practices 46, 67
 guerrilla warfare 44-46
 insurgent army 55, 76
 insurrectos 53
 Philippine Commission 20, 24, 55, 66
 Philippine Constabulary 23, 25, 47, 56-59, 62, 64
 creation 55
 organizational set-up 58
 Philippine Scouts 55, 58-59
 Pigafetta, Antonio de 17, 26
pitarrillas 18
planquetas 63
 Plasencia, Juan de 17
 Plymouth (England) 9
 Pontevedra 23
 "Pope" Faustino 2
 Pulahanism 2

 Pulahanes 2, 32
 Ramos, Rafael 34-35
realengas 11
 Recollects 7, 9-10
 Retana, J. A. 52
 Revolution of 1896 2, 32, 75
 Cry of Pugad Lawin 32
 revolucionarios (see *insurrectos*)
 Truce of Biak-na-Bato 34
 Ribadeneira, Marcelo de 17
 Rios, Diego de los 33
 Rizal, José 31
 Rodriguez, Esteban 4
 Roldan, Captain 32
 Romero, Ma. Fe H. 11
 Roosevelt, Theodore 48
 "Rope Cure" 46, 67
 Rosado, Cenon 65
 Rotea, Luis 36
 Russell and Sturgis 8

- sacadas*, 13
 Sacon, Roque 34
 Sagay 54, 56
 Salas, Quintin 33
 Salvador, Felipe 1
 Samar 2, 22, 32-33, 48
 San Carlos 56
 San Enrique 34, 50, 59
 San Miguel (La Carlota) 59
 Sanchez, Benito 50
sanglang-bili (see *pacto de retro-venta*)
 Santa Barbara (Iloilo) 33, 52
Santa Yglesia 1
 Santillana, Anacleto 52
 Santos, Cayo 53
 Sarabia 7, 52
 Sarabia, Emilio 7
 Scotland 9
 Segobela, Dionisio (see "Papa" Isio)
 Severino, Melecio 34-35, 43
 Sexton, William Thaddeus 47
 Siaton, 7, 24, 30, 54
 Silay 7, 10, 34, 52
 police force 68
 Sime, H. 43
 Singapore 9
 Sipalay 30, 54, 56
 Siquijor island 8
 Siriaco 59
 Smith, James F. 42-43, 50, 65
 South America 9
 Spain 33, 41, 44, 51, 75
 Spaniards 2, 8-9, 12, 17, 35-37, 41, 44, 71-72, 75
 Spanish mestizo 26, 34, 45, 54
 Spanish-American War 32-33
 Sturtevant, David R. 12-13, 77
 Sual 8
 Suay 34, 63
 Sugar industry 9, 75
 centrifugal sugar production 15
 muscovado sugar industry 15
 sugar 9-11
 sugar belt 4
 Sumatra 9
suyacs 63
 Tacloban 8
 Taft, William Howard 69, 72
tagaliwas 22
 Tagalogs 17, 25, 34, 41
talibong 31-32
 Talisay 10, 52
 Tanjay 7, 30
 Tano 59
 Tañon Strait 4
 Tanza 52
 Tayasan 32, 57
 Taylor, John R. M. 45
 Teves, Pedro 36
 Tianjan, Antonio 34
tigalpa 22
 Tigbauan 10
 Tolatola, Eugenio 54
 Tolong 30
 Treaty of Paris 44
 Trias, Mariano 48
tuba 21, 24
 Tubungan (Iloilo) 21
tulisan(es) 30, 68, 72
 Tuyo, Marcelo 54
 Ubay 10
 United States (see America)
usurpacion 11
 Valderrama, Eusebio 32
 Valladolid 57
 Valladolid Junta 50
 Vallehermoso 36, 57
vaquero 24
 Varona, Francisco 36
venta real 11
 Victorias 7, 52, 56
 Villanueva, Hermenegildo 36, 44
 Villanueva, Mariano 50
 Villegas, Pantaleon (see "Leon Kilat")
 Viña, Diego de la 34-36
 Viña, Jose de la 54
 Visayas 19-20, 29, 33, 45-46, 74, 76
 Central Revolutionary Committee 34
 Eastern Visayas 4
 Federal Council of the Visayas 33, 40-41, 45-46, 49, 52, 76

- Islands 2, 17, 33, 40
Military District 43
Provisional Revolutionary Government 33
region 4
towns 21
Visayan(s) 18, 25, 72
Western Visayas 4
- Wallace, Anthony 1
Washington 43
"Water Cure" 46, 67
Weyler, Valeriano 30
- White, John R. 11-12, 22, 54-55, 58-59, 63, 65
Worcester, Dean C. 29
Wright, Luke E. 55
- Yankees (see Americans)
Yulos 10
Yulo, Teodoro 9-10
Yunki, Pedro 50
- Zamboanga 8
Zamboanguita 30, 57

TITLE: BABAYLANISM IN NEGRAS, 1896-1907

AUTHOR:

FILED: NA

DATE DUE

BORROWER

(PLS. PRINT YOUR NAME)

6-13-95

~~Palmer, Myrl Joseph~~

87-67

File. 959.95

C 897

INSIDE USE

MSU-GSC LIBRARY

MCJ-GSC LIBRARY

TITLE BABAYLANISM IN

FILED NA
NEGROS, 1896-1907

AUTHOR CULLAMAR, E. T.

ACC NO. 87-67 CALL NO. FIL 959.05 C807

DUE 6-13-95 BORROWER Palanga Amylee Lopez

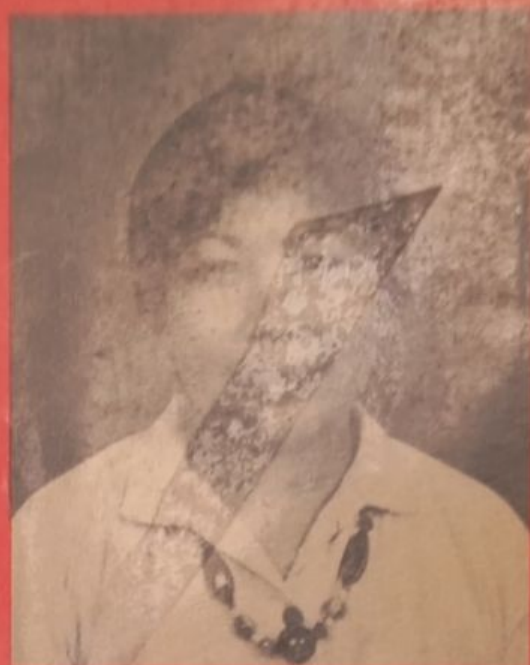
INSIDE USE

shapes, texture, and motion
computer vision
computer systems and architectures
for image processing
and various industrial and
biomedical applications

intelligence, data processing and
design, and computer graphics;
control engineers; physicists in methodology
tists in remote sensing; and analytical

THE AUTHOR

EVELYN TAN CULLAMAR is presently a faculty member of the Department of History and Political Science of the Ateneo de Manila University where she obtained her M.A. in History in 1975 on an Asia Foundation grant.



This book is based on her masteral thesis which was adjudged in 1980 the Best Research from 1972 to 1976 by the Philippine Social Science Council under its Discretionary Research Awards Program.

From Silliman University she received a B.S.E.Ed. degree in 1965, *magna cum laude*. She is a Ph.D. candidate in Philippine Studies and an Asian Center scholar at the University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City.

THE BOOK

This book is a major contribution toward the enhancement of our knowledge and understanding of Babaylanism as a manifestation of social unrest in Negros Island during the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. It focuses on the causes which led to the rise of Babaylanism as well as on its nature as a social movement in terms of its objectives, composition, leadership, and ideology.

LESLIE E. BAUZON

Dean, College of Social Science and Philosophy
University of the Philippines